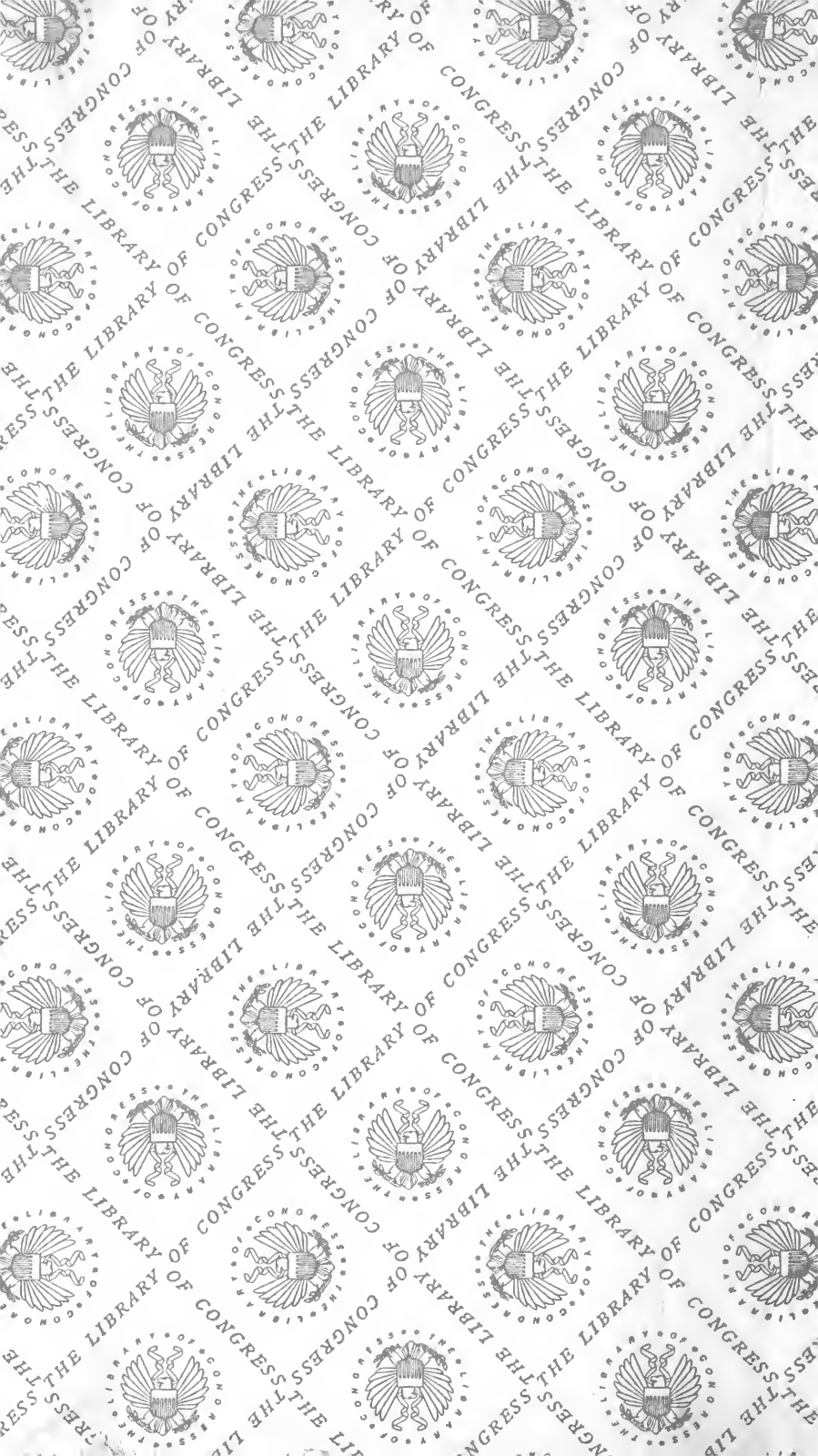
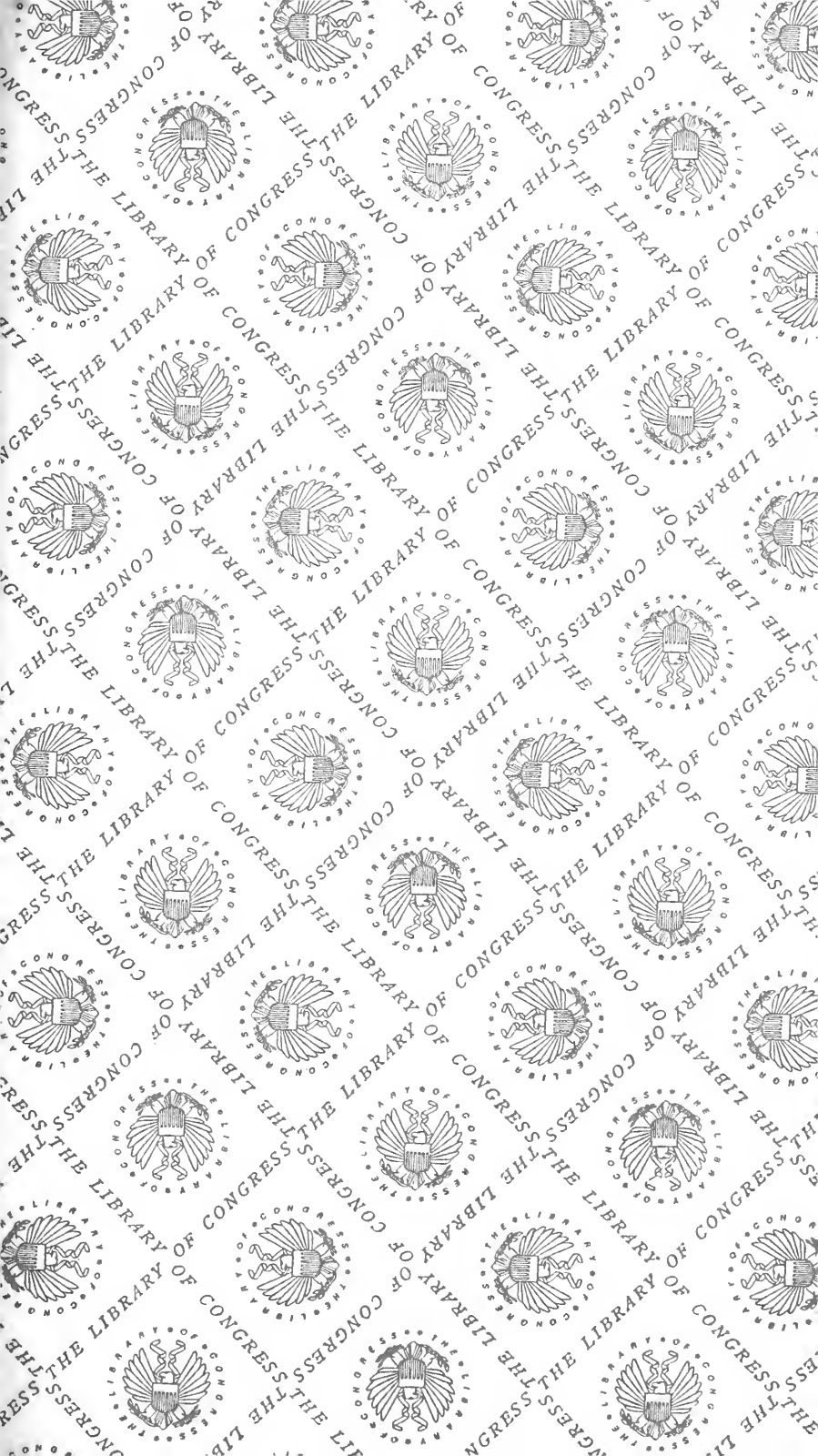


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# STATEMENT OF FACTS

RELATING TO THE CLAIM OF

<sup>Donato Gideon</sup>  
ORAZIO DE ATTELLIS <sup>✓</sup>SANTANGELO,  
" "

A CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES,

ON THE

GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF MEXICO,

PRECEDED BY SOME EXPLANATORY REMARKS, AND  
FOLLOWED BY A SPECIFIED LIST OF THE  
ACCOMPANYING DOCUMENTS.



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1841.

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P. FORCE, PRINTER,  
TENTH STREET.

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## EXPLANATORY REMARKS.

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My claim on the Mexican Government has been represented in the documents of the 2d Session of the 25th Congress of the United States, marked No. 3, as brought forward by an *individual* editing a newspaper at the City of Mexico, called "El Correo Atlántico;" keeping there, *he and his wife*, a school for the instruction of *young women*; giving in his paper some *offence* to the Mexican Government; banished; claiming an indemnification of *one hundred thousand dollars, &c.*

Far from me is the idea of this inscription being purposely calculated to discredit both the claim and the claimant; but it is doubtless incorrect, and must be corrected. The *individual* spoken of never failed to deserve publicly or privately the title of gentleman, agreed upon among educated people in polite society. His school for *young women* was a "Literary Institute," nobly kept, honored with the confidence of the principal families of Mexico, and imparting to numerous pupils of both sexes a scientific and moral education, not inferior to any that may be obtained in the most illustrious seminaries of both worlds. His "Correo Atlántico," exclusively devoted to literature and commerce, and the only periodical universally acknowledged as worth reading in the country, never printed a single word about the Mexican Government or politics; all his writings in Mexico having constantly been directed to deserve Mexican gratitude. And the sum claimed is far below the redress justly, lawfully, and reasonably due.

Neither shall I suspect that the little regard shown on this occasion to truth, in relation to my claim or person, is the effect of my being born in a foreign land. Eighteen years of residence in these United States without ever begging office, protection, or any favor whatever; thirteen years of *legal* citizenship without ever approach-

ing a poll, nor intruding directly or indirectly upon political contests, knowing the prejudices of the mass against foreigners; and such a personal, domestic, and social behavior as would suffice to render any man morally superior to the ninety-nine hundredths of his fellow-beings, must have given, I trust, at least a shadow of respectability to my name. If not, I do not complain. I constantly felt in my obscurity among freemen much happier than when, with the title of marquis, a splendid fortune, a heap of chivalric decorations on my breast, a superior military rank, the reputation of a distinguished jurist, &c. and running from court to court, I was receiving every where flattering testimonials of esteem. I expected, on the contrary, to continue peacefully enjoying in this new world until my last breath, the blessings of retirement; and I would never have interrupted my silence about myself, had not the savage genius of two Mexican Presidents forced me to present a claim, the humiliating inscription of which, in an *official* document, prompts me now to call on it public attention. Respected or not by others, I must respect myself; and self-respect imposes on me the duty, and gives me the indisputable right, to repudiate that inscription, put in evidence the true facts, and prove that my claim is neither imaginary nor exaggerated. In virtue of what convention between Mexico and the United States, before what tribunal, and under what protection from my own Government, I shall now have to solicit the judicial settlement of my claim, this is already known to many. The present STATEMENT OF FACTS, and a future appendix to it, will however, if necessary, furnish elucidations of a much greater importance.

The true nature of my claims on Mexico is pointed out by two *legal* protests, filed in my documents. They are stated therein as caused by two illegal and unjust banishments from Mexico—the first in 1826, the second in 1835—both against the laws of the country and the law of nations; and the second also in open violation of the treaty existing between Mexico and the United States; both the revengeful work of a corrupt and ruthless ministry; both condemned by the whole Mexican nation itself; both in punishment of my having dared to defend the honor and interests of my adopted country, the United States, without however giving the least offence to any Mexican authority or person: and the wrongs are clearly specified

to have been the loss of an only son, nineteen years old, my only hope and support; unwarrantable violences to my personal liberty; public outrageous attacks on my honor and good reputation from that Government itself; wanton and cruel exposure of my life to evident dangers; and pecuniary damages to such an amount as to have plunged me with my family in the most distressing difficulties.

The case is, however, a peculiar one, and requires a particular attention. It has no reference to commercial concerns, moral conduct, or contentious matters. I have no seizures, confiscations, forced loans, imprisonments or fetherings to complain of. I know of no invoices, bills of lading, manifestoes, drafts or accounts whatever, to exhibit, exact, refute or discuss. I never had to do in Mexico with *alcaldes*, custom-houses, courts, governors, or other subaltern authorities, either as offender or offended. I am merely the victim of the stupidity of one Mexican President, and of the treacherous and base wickedness of another, under false *political* pretences; expelled from Mexico by the former as a *suspected person*, the suspicion being only the effect of his distempered brain; and by the latter, without his alleging any reason at all for it, not even a calumny—the cause remaining buried in his own brutal heart.

Now, with the respect due to the word “President,” indicating a *depository of public authority*, I have only to arraign before the judge of the case, and before the world, two men, who wrongly invested with that authority, and trampling on all human and divine laws, have abused of it against private innocence, and so far descended from their high station as to level themselves with the most dastardly assaulters of the liberty, life, property and honor of honest and respectable people. I wish, therefore, to be understood that I make a distinction between the Mexican Government, properly so called, which I solely regard as a moral body, responsible for the redress which forms the object of my claim, and the persons of two ex-members of that moral body, whose conduct has given rise to the claim, and whose *culpability*, in the exercise of their *official* functions, must necessarily be put in evidence for the *legal* substantiation of the claim.

But is there any chance of success for a private, weak, forsaken individual, engaged in pleading against a foreign Government, that, besides its own inexhaustible resources, is supported, right or wrong,

by the national pride of its people, and by that consideration, well or badly understood, called *courtesy*, which every Government commonly enjoys from foreign powers, and to which individual rights or interests are but too often ruthlessly immolated? Are there not Governments, that, rather than take the trouble of avenging a wrong inflicted on any of their subjects, try, in justification of their criminal inaction, to find in him even faults which his very offender has not been able to imagine?

This is not even the worst of the disadvantages under which I am *personally* placed in this contest. The present Minister of Foreign Affairs in Mexico is said to be that very *Camacho* who signed the order of my banishment of 1826; his chief clerk is undoubtedly that very *Monasterio* who signed, as acting minister, my order of banishment of 1835; and it is precisely under the direct instructions of these *good friends of mine* that the Mexican Members of the Board, sitting in Washington for the adjustment of American claims on Mexico, are now to act as *my judges*. . . . Hence the necessity of the publication of this STATEMENT OF FACTS, which, if of no avail to have justice done, will no doubt, by proving the justice of the claim, shelter my honor from all malicious constructions or mistaken conceptions. Honor is in this instance, as it always was in my misfortunes, the main object of my solicitude.

The numerous documents relating to my claim, chronologically filed, as quoted by cardinal numbers in the statement of facts, are ready for presentation. Others, not filed, but to be presented if required, are marked with an asterisk. But, should it be necessary for the refutation of some slanders, or the proper estimate of the outrages and losses which form the subject of the claim, to evince also who I was in Europe, how I lived there from the instant of my birth to the age of fifty, and *why I removed to America*, this will appear from authentic vouchers filed, and marked alphabetically in a separate volume, ready likewise for the inspection of the judge and the curious.

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*P. S. English not being my native language, I respectfully solicit the indulgence of the reader.*

O. DE A. SANTANGELO.

## STATEMENT OF FACTS.

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### MY FIRST BANISHMENT.

*Twentieth May, 1824.* After a passage of forty days from Gibraltar on the United States frigate "Constitution," commanded by the worthy Commodore Jacob Jones, I landed on the 20th of May, 1824, in New-York. I brought with me the poor remnants of my fortune, saved from my political shipwrecks and proscriptions; an only son, seventeen years old, a few thousand ducats, some literary acquirements, and an untarnished personal honor.

*Twenty-first of May, 1824.* Enthusiastically prepossessed in favor of the institutions of the United States, without knowing them but through vague reports, I went on the following day, 21st, to declare before the Marine Court of New-York my intention of becoming a citizen of the United States; and then I was required to renounce *under oath* my allegiance to all foreign power, and especially to that of which I was a subject by birth. This appears from the certificate delivered to me on the occasion (1). From that moment I adopted the name and the signature of O. de A. Santangelo. In Europe I was known as Orazio de Attellis Marquis of Sant' Angelo, and occasionally, under Republican Governments, merely Orazio de Attellis. From that moment, again, by losing all rights or claims to foreign protection, my *civil rights* were placed, *de jure*, under that of the United States. I had then a country; that where I had fixed my *legal* domicil for life, and where at the end of five years I was also to enjoy the *political rights* of an American citizen. I felt happy.

*Twenty-ninth of June, 1824.* After having forwarded some letters of introduction ( \* ), my first care was to procure a suitable occupation for my son Francis. I went to solicit at Bordentown the favors of Count de Survilliers, formerly King of Naples, who kindly procured for him a clerkship in the counting rooms of Messrs. Le Roy, Bayard & Co., through a letter, of which the following is a faithful translation from the French:

"POINT BREZE (BORDENTOWN), *June 29th, 1824.*

"MR. WILLIAM BAYARD, *New-York.*

"DEAR SIR: The Marquis of Sant' Angelo de Attellis, a Neapolitan officer, who was formerly in my service, has been obliged to quit his country by political events. He has established himself in New-York, where he desires that I may procure him your acquaintance. This is what I do in recommending him to you. He earnestly wishes

you to employ his son in your counting house, a youth of a very prepossessing appearance, who speaks Spanish, French, and Italian, and knows the first principles of mathematics.

"I pray you, &c. Your very affectionate servant,  
"JOSEPH COUNT SURVILLIERS." (2).

*Thirtieth of September, 1824.* My next care was to show myself in some way useful to my adopted country. I therefore published, on the 30th of September, a "Prospectus for a course of Lectures on the Theoretical Principles of Commerce." (\*) The favorable opinion given about my plan by the Atlantic Magazine (3), the New-York American (3), New-York Statesman (3), and other periodicals; and the circumstance of my prospectus bearing, as references, the names of Herman Leroy, Esq., William Bayard, Jr., Peter Harmony, De Rham & Moore, John B. Lasala, James D. P. Ogden, Charles McEvers, G. G. & C. Howland, James Heard, D. Henderson, Robert Swanton, William Sampson, Esqrs., soon procured me more occupation than I could attend to. My prospect was now encouraging; and I neither was desirous of visiting Mexico, nor had I the slightest notion of the state of affairs in that country.

*Twentieth January, 1825.*—My son had already become acquainted with the English language, book-keeping, and commercial correspondence, when a Mexican merchant, Don José Alvarez y Sagastegui, offered him a more profitable situation in his "counting-house" in Guadalajara, in the Mexican States. A contract was accordingly stipulated between him and myself (my son being under age), before the notary public Anthony Rapallo, of New-York, under date of the 20th of January, 1825. (\*)

*First March, 1825.*—My son then asked and obtained his leave from Mr. Bayard, in honorable terms, dated 1st March 1825. (4) But it was as unadvisable for me to arrest the progress of my son in his career, as impossible to induce him to go a single step afar from me. I was therefore obliged to accompany him to Mexico, with the firm intention of coming back to the United States as soon as I should have seen him properly installed in his new employment there. This was the only reason of my first visit to that country, where a little later I was to be treated by three anthropophagi called ministers, as a *suspected* person, insulted, banished, and obliged to bury my adored son, my only hope, in the bottom of the ocean!

*April, 1825.*—With a passport, procured by Mr. Alvarez for himself, his secretary, my son and myself, we landed at Tampico early in April 1825, where we met with a company of foreign engineers and other officers, arrived there from Europe, on their way to the Anglo-Mexican mines of Talpujahuá, in the Mexican States, having at their head the Chevalier Vincent Rivafinoli, my countryman and old friend. This gentleman took a particular fancy

to my son, and exacted from him his word that, in case of his becoming dissatisfied with his actual situation, he would come directly to him in Tlalpujahua, and join his company, where he should enjoy the emoluments of \$2,000 per annum, besides boarding, lodging, washing, servants, and the maintenance of one or two horses in his own house; the whole amounting to \$3,000 yearly.

*August, 1825.*—Indeed, we soon found out that Señor Alvarez y Sagastegui was not the man he had bragged to be. Owing to his pecuniary embarrassments, we were obliged to stop nearly three months in Tampico, before being able to advance into the interior; and on our arrival at San Luis Potosi, in July, we found that his "counting-house" of Guadalajara was imaginary, and that my son was to serve the public in a wholesale dry good store in San Luis, which he was neither disposed to do, nor I to permit. In our just resentment, we declared null the contract stipulated in New-York; my son asked his leave, and Señor Alvarez was obliged to give it. (\*) We proceeded then to the city of Mexico, where we arrived in August. There I stopped, and my son continued his journey to Tlalpujahua, thirty-seven leagues west from that capital. All the offers and promises of Chevalier Rivafinoli were religiously complied with.

In Mexico I was very far from intruding at all upon the politics of the country, and even from protracting my stay there beyond one or two months, had I not met with some persons, whose kindness caused my sojourn to be more agreeable and longer than I had anticipated, namely: the old Lieutenant-General Don Alejo Garcia Conde, brother of General Don Juan, who had married, in Madrid, Luisa de Attellis, my niece *ex fratre*, then and still now *azafata* of the Queen of Spain; Lieutenant-General Andres Pignatelli Cerciara, my intimate acquaintance from infancy; General Vincent Filisola, my countryman in the Mexican service; the Mexican Colonel Don Santiago Menocal, who had known me personally in Naples in 1815, and was indebted to me for some important services; and Count Cornaro, my countryman, formerly Aid-de-Camp of the Viceroy Beauharnais, and my brother in arms at the campaign of Russia.

At General Filisola's, I became personally acquainted with Generals Guerrero, Santa Anna, Bustamante, Teran, several superior officers, Senator Zavala, and various clergymen of note, doctors, judges, lawyers, &c. Santa Anna introduced me to President Victoria, in presence of General Herrera. Through Guerrero, I made the acquaintance of General Bravo, his secret antagonist. Filisola presented me also to the Minister of War, Pedraza; the Governor of the Federal District, Don Francisco Molinos del Campo; the chief of the staff of the army, Marquis de Vivanco; Tornel, private secretary of the President, &c. To the Minister of Justice and Ecclesiastic Affairs, Ramos Arispe, a priest, I was introduced by one of his natural sons, a captain. Zavala made me acquainted

with the Minister of the Treasury, Esteva, several *savants*, and a great number of members of Congress. I never uttered a single word about politics, either with the above named personages or others. I had been favored by Chevalier Rivafinoli with a letter of introduction, dated 26th December, to Mr. Ward, the English Ambassador in Mexico; but having had an opportunity to make his acquaintance without availing of that letter, it remained in my possession (5); and although the treaty he was then negotiating with Mexico, was the topic of all conversations in the city, I did not take the least interest in it. Santa Anna, however, tried his best to have my private opinion about some principal political discussions of the day; and Guerrero told me repeatedly, "If ever I become President, or commander-in-chief of an expeditionary army, you must be at the head of my 'Estado Mayor General,'" (General Staff.) I took this compliment for a jest.

I studied, however, the modern history of Mexico, but merely for my own instruction. I knew that there were, at the time, several secret *political* clubs under the specious name of *masonic* societies, some of which professed the Scottish Rite, and were composed of Bourbonists, Iturbidists, Centralists, &c.; and others, the Rite of York, and these supported exclusively the federal system. But I did not know that the former had declared a secret war against the Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States at Mexico, Mr. Joel R. Poinsett, for having procured, from some Grand Lodge of the United States, the constitutional charters for the latter; wrongly deducing from this innocent fact that he was unfriendly to the *Scottish* party. On my part, I never belonged to any of the lodges of either party, nor had I any intercourse with Mr. Poinsett. Known, however, as an European mason, I had partaken, by a particular invitation from Senator Zavala, as a visitor, of two masonic banquets; one of which was held in his own lodgings, and the other in the old castle of Chapultepec, outside of the gates of the city, to which freemasons of all rites and countries assisted, including the English Minister Ward, and President Victoria himself, who drank this toast: "To Great Britain and the Republic of Mexico, the two most powerful and enlightened nations on earth."

*January, 1826.*—In this state of perfect tranquillity, and whilst preparing for my return to the United States, a pamphlet, by the Abbé De Pradt, was circulated in the beginning of January, 1826, entitled "Le Congrès de Panama." That estimable writer had thus addressed to the new American Republics some wholesome advice about the new common law they ought to adopt, consonant with their new institutions, in the Congress of Panama, then in contemplation, as proposed by the Columbian Dictator, Bolivar. On this subject of *general* interest for the *whole western hemisphere*, I thought to be permitted, in a private circle at Zavala's, to make some observations, demonstrating that all discussions about the wise opinions of De Pradt, ought to be preceded by others far more



important, concerning the security of the new American Republics against an aggression from Spain. I developed these ideas with some felicity, and was warmly requested by the hearers to put them on paper. To this I objected, on account of my imperfect knowledge of the Spanish language. Zavala, however, urged me to write in French, offering to translate me into Spanish. My answer was: "I have no objection."

They went farther. Observing that the writings of a transient foreigner would inspire but little confidence, they suggested the propriety of my being invested with the Mexican citizenship. I opposed my having already solicited the citizenship of the United States, and sworn my subjection to their laws; and to this they replied that, as no sworn renunciations were required by the Mexican naturalization laws then in vigor, I could easily obtain from the Government of the United States the permission to accept the *honorary* citizenship of Mexico. I answered: "If so, I will try."

*Eighteenth February, 1826.*—As robberies and assassinations were day and night committed at that period in the streets of the city, and popular cries of "death to strangers" were heard unceasingly in every corner of it, I asked permission to bear arms, as other foreigners did, and was required to justify the respectability of my person to obtain it. Messrs. Menocal (6), Pignatelli (7), and Filisola (8), furnished me cheerfully with honorable certificates, and the permission, dated 18th of February, 1826, was granted, even to bear pistols (9), which was considered as a singular mark of confidence towards a foreigner.

*Fourth April, 1826.*—Under the guarantee of the Constitution then in vigor, the laws on the freedom of the press, and the authority of many leading members of Congress, I soon formed the plan of a work entitled, "The first four Discussions of the Congress of Panama, such as they ought to be." These discussions to be published separately *par livraison*, were:—

1st. What is the Holy Alliance?

2d. Shall we have a war?

3d. What would be the plan and the means of this war against us?

4th. What would be our best defence?

The publication of the preamble to this work in the "Eagle" (*Aguila Mexicana*) of the 4th April, 1826, highly recommended by the editor (\*), produced a numerous subscription.

*Eighth April, 1826.*—The "Iris" of the 8th of April said: "The Congress of Panama, by Mr. De Pradt, has suggested to the veteran and determined Republican Orazio de Attellis Santangelo, the idea of writing another . . . . . We have read the former printed, and the latter in manuscript; and it has seemed to us to perceive in De Pradt, a clergyman who presents himself in the sanctuary of the independence of America, to eulogize with a religious dignity the sanctity of her cause; and in Santangelo, a generous athlete, who rushes into the arena with the torch of truth in

one hand, and the sword in the other, determined to save the *rights of the new world*, or to bury himself with them, ( 10 ).

*Fifth May, 1826.*—The publication of the “First Discussion of the Congress of Panama,” took place on the 5th of May, and was advertised in the “Eagle” of the 6th ( \* ), whose editors said: “We have read with interest the first of the ‘four discussions of the Congress of Panama,’ and we desire the appearance of the others, as the work relates to matters so very interesting to us,” &c. ( \* )

The “Iris” of the same day announced the publication through a long editorial, saying, among other things, “We believe to please our readers by promising them, besides some annotations on this work, which, we doubt not, will form an epoch in the annals of free America, a succinct biography of Santangelo; which, as he has found himself in many political transactions in Europe, must prove remarkably interesting,” ( 10 ).

*Ninth May, 1826.*—An encouraging occurrence took place. The Executive had long been invested with *dictatorial* powers, called in Mexico “*facultades extraordinarias*,” by a congressional decree of the 23d of December, 1824, in virtue of which it had been authorized to expel foreigners whenever it pleased. This was a lawless derogation to the Constitution published on the 4th of the preceding month of October. Those “*facultades*” were now repealed by a decree of Congress of the 9th May, 1826, and foreigners had nothing to fear from despotism, ( 11 ).

*Tenth May, 1826.*—The “Eagle,” of the 10th May, published a communication of the private Secretary of President Victoria, Colonel Tornel, who, under the signature of “El Patriota,” said: “La obra del estimable escritor Santangelo ha sido recibida con *aplauso*; contiene noticias curiosas, y sostiene principios *saludables*”—(the work of the esteemed writer Santangelo has been received with *applause*; it contains curious informations, and supports *wholesome* principles)—( \* ). This Tornel was afterwards one of the most enraged supporters of the order of my banishment!

*Twelfth May, 1826.*—The “Eagle,” of the 12th May, filled up its columns with extracts from my “First Discussion,” ( \* ).

*Second June, 1826.*—The “Mercurio,” of Vera Cruz, of the 2d June, honored me with a Spanish sonnet, whose tenor evinced the most exalted enthusiasm of the press in favor of my work, ( 12 ).

*Sixth June, 1826.*—It is remarkable that on the 6th of June a regulation was published about foreigners and passports, by President Victoria, signed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Camacho, the article 13th of which was conceived as follows:

“To avoid hereafter the *frauds* which have been usually committed, and *could still be committed*, by some foreigners, who, supposing themselves to be citizens of the United States of America, avail of the certificate of the *oath* taken by them in said States, as of a patent of citizenship, *their legation has agreed to expedite no certificates for passports, without the most satisfactory evidence of*

*their being citizens of said States*, and such must be the guarantee to be exhibited by their respective Consuls to obtain the license spoken of in the article 6th," &c. (\*)

This unlawful presidential provision, to which the American Minister most unlawfully acceded, tended evidently to deprive all foreigners, bearers of the mentioned *certificate of oath*, of all protection from the diplomatic and commercial agents of the United States in Mexico. I was precisely myself in this case; and I have never been able to understand how a diplomatic agent, or the Executive of a country whatever, could, *motu proprio*, destroy the *civil rights* of foreigners, through agreements not expressly authorized by any legislative enactment, and openly at variance with the law of nations.

*Eighth of June, 1826.*—General Santa Anna, who was at that period in Xalapa, wrote me a letter, dated the 8th of June, acknowledging the receipt of fifty copies of my "First Discussion," adding to have taken measures to have them sold, and encouraging the continuation of the work, in the following terms:

"The argument of the work is very good, and I have found it very much to my taste. Please to God that it may have the effect which its learned author proposes. Continue, my friend, writing in the same sense as far as possible, in order to awake with your truths and powerful arguments, certain men who sleep thoughtlessly and carelessly. Communicate to me what may occur. The periodical entitled "El Iris," pleases me; it seems that its directors are intelligent men," (13).

*Twenty-ninth of June, 1826.*—On the 29th of June, my "Second Discussion" was published, and advertised in the "Eagle" of the 30th, (\*).

*Thirtieth of June, 1826.*—I received from Count A. Cornaro a note, dated 30th of June, in Italian, whose literal translation is the following:

"My dear friend—Mr. Poinsett has requested me to forward to you the enclosed invitation (14), [that of assisting to a ball to be given at his lodgings on the 4th July next, to celebrate the anniversary of the Independence of the United States]. I stop here, because they have brought me the 'second part of your work,' and I like better to employ my time usefully in reading what you have written, than in making you compliments. Call me selfish, if you wish; I permit you. Believe me, &c.," (15).

In this "Second Discussion" I had been obliged to treat of two important subjects; 1st, the part which the United States ought to represent at the Congress of Panama, as a member of the great American family; 2dly, the impropriety for the Mexican Government, granting in the treaty it was then negotiating with the United States, to the new American Republics certain *sympathetic* privileges highly prejudicial to the commercial interests of the United States, that were immensely more entitled to Mexican *sympathy*

than any nation in the world. In this double aspect, I employed thirty-four pages of my book (*from p. 123 to 162*) in advocating the principles, views and proposals of Mr. Poinsett in the treaty in question, reproving the *partiality* of the Mexican negotiators, as prejudicial to the welfare of their own country, ( 16 ). One of those negotiators was the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Camacho, who signed afterwards the order of my banishment.

The history of these negotiations, proving the correctness of my statements, was related three years later by Mr. Poinsett himself, to the Secretary of State, Mr. Van Buren, under date of the 22d of July, 1829, in the following terms:

“———, You are already aware that the administration of this country, upon my arrival here, were extremely hostile to the interests of the United States, and adverse to form any sort of connection with us. They believed, or affected to believe, that the aggrandizement, or even the prosperity of Mexico, was regarded by the United States as prejudicial to their interests, and that every thing would be done by us to impede or check the progress of this colossal power, lest its growth might destroy the sister Republic. They insisted that we had availed ourselves of the weakness of Spain to despoil Mexico of a valuable portion of her territory, and anticipated a triumph in the renewal of the negotiations on the subject of boundary. This became evident at the commencement of my conferences with the Mexican Plenipotentiaries, &c. . . . . The negotiations for concluding a treaty of amity, navigation, and commerce, were continued, and after being brought very nearly to a conclusion, were broken off by me, owing to the Mexican Plenipotentiaries *insisting upon placing the new States of America upon a more favorable footing than the United States*. This took place on the 27th of September, 1825; and an account of the discussion will be found in my despatch, dated 28th September, and marked No. 22, &c. . . . . The negotiations were not renewed until May 1826, some little time after the appointment of Don Sebastian Camacho to be Plenipotentiary to negotiate a treaty with England. These negotiations resulted in the treaty which was signed on the 10th of July, 1826. When I signed that treaty, it was with a perfect conviction that *it would not be ratified at Washington*. I was induced to sign it, because the Mexican Plenipotentiaries made the provisions which we thought objectionable a *sine qua non*, and I felt desirous that Don Sebastian Camacho should go to London, unshackled in the negotiations he was about to open with Mr. Canning. Mr. King had informed me that Great Britain *would not object to the exception in favor of the States, which were formerly Spanish Colonies*, provided Mexico still desired to have such a provision in the treaty. It was well known to me that the President and his cabinet did wish to insert such a provision in their treaties with all foreign powers, and, if not prevented by some pre-existing treaty, would take advantage of the disposition of Great Britain to

fix the principles in their treaty with her. I had a right to believe, from the private correspondence of Mr. Canning with President Victoria, and from some public papers of that gentleman, written in an unfriendly tone and spirit towards the United States, that he would gladly seize such an opportunity of preventing any treaty from being concluded between the two Republics. . . . . In all former negotiations in this country, I had been shackled by the treaties with Great Britain. In the first treaty with that Government, *Mexico had introduced provisions at variance with the interests of America, and which occasioned the rupture of our negotiations*; and after they were renewed, the dread of introducing some provisions in our treaty, which might prevent them from concluding their pending negotiation with the cabinet of St. James's, *threw insuperable obstacles in my way*, and finally *compelled me to conclude that treaty which was ratified in part only by the Senate of the United States,*" &c.

*First of July, 1826.*—The American cause in general, a sentiment of justice towards the United States and their Minister Plenipotentiary, and the most ardent and sincere wishes for the prosperity of Mexico itself, had then evidently suggested my observations in my "Second Discussion." I was contented with myself, and cheerfully preparing the publication of the "Third Discussion." But, whilst the whole nation was lavishing the highest encomium on both the First and Second Discussions already published, three Ministers, those of War, *Pedraza*; of Justice, *Ramos Arispe*; and of Foreign Affairs, *Camacho*; suspecting, or affecting to suspect, that I was a *masonic* follower of Mr. Poinsett, a *Yorkine*, that is, an obstacle to their *Scottish* plans, and astonished at a book written by a *foreigner*, and spreading a mass of light, which seemed to them not proper to keep the country in that ignorance which formed their only force, swore my ruin. It was easy for this trio to have their plot against me approved by President Guadalupe Victoria, whose insignificance was proverbial there. As to the Minister of the Treasury, Ignacio Esteva, he was thought to be a *Yorkine*.

The perfidy of the premeditated aggression was surpassed, however, by the cowardice, or rather the stupidity of the means adopted to carry it into execution. I call the attention of the civilized world on this sample of the Mexican character.

It was necessary for those honorable members of the cabinet, or cabinet-makers, that I should be kidnapped, as it were, from the city, without affording any time to unwelcome oppositions. A *lettre de cachet*, ordering me out of the city within twenty-four hours, to be intimated at an hour when all the population was asleep; by a person of high authority and of the utmost confidence; on a Sunday, when the printing offices were closed; and supported immediately by the Gazette of the Government, through calumnious invectives and specious reasonings, calculated to silence or paralyze public talk or censure, &c., this was the *chef d'œuvre* of their policy. Accordingly, on the

night of Saturday, the 1st of July, at half past eleven o'clock, whilst I was about going to bed, some one knocked at my door. Who is there? A deep sepulchral voice answered: "*Soy yo, Señor marques, he de hablar con Usted.*" (It is I, marquis, I must speak with you.)—I knew the voice; it was that of the Governor of the Federal district, Don Francisco Molinos del Campo. With some surprise, much curiosity, and no sad presentiment, I opened the door, and the Governor, closely enveloped in a large Spanish cloak (it was the month of July), after having courteously shook hands with me, and asked how I was, seated himself gravely near my desk, and engaged in the following dialogue:

*Governor*—I am your friend; I esteem and respect you; but I am also the servant of the supreme Government, and I must comply with the painful duty of reading to you this official note, which I have just received from the State Department (he then calmly unfolded a paper and read: "By order of the most excellent President of the Republic, you will forthwith repair personally to the lodgings of the foreigner O. de A. Santangelo, and enjoin him to leave the city within twenty-four hours, and proceed under an escort of cavalry to Vera Cruz, there to embark for foreign parts, *por sospechoso* (as a suspected person.—Signed, CAMACHO.")

*Myself*—(striking a powerful blow with my fist on my desk)—I *sospechoso*! I swear, Sir, that your most excellent President is a vile impostor towards me, and an infamous traitor to his own country.

*Governor*—Peace, my friend, every thing can be satisfactorily adjusted.

*Myself*—Never, Sir. *Sospechoso*! This is an incurable wound to my honor.

*Governor*—I put my purse at your disposal; but you must leave to-morrow (Sunday).

*Myself*—Do you arrest me, Sir?

*Governor*—No, Sir, you are perfectly free.

*Myself*—Why do you not seize my papers? A *sospechoso* might have criminal correspondences.

*Governor*—I am not directed to perform such an operation.

*Myself*—You are the chief of the police of this District; can you say that I am *sospechoso*?

*Governor*—I know nothing but the contents of the note which I have just read to you.

*Myself*—Can I have a copy of it?

*Governor*—No, Sir, you will receive your passport, that is enough.

*Myself*—Is my fate irrevocable?

*Governor*—I believe so.

*Myself*—(rising up in a rage)—If so, let the most excellent President know that it is my own irrevocable will and pleasure, rather to fall, sword in hand, pierced by his bayonets, than leave the city without having with me my son from the mines of Tlalpujahua,

whom I shall not abandon within the grasp of a tyrant who treats his father as an enemy.

*Governor*—(disconcerted)—Draw up a petition, my friend, I shall send it immediately to the Minister Camacho.

*Myself*—(I wrote)—“I receive the order which has just been communicated to me. Glorious at my conduct, I shall also have the *glory* of obeying the Supreme Government. I demand to have with me my son, who is an officer in the mining company of Tlalpujahua. I demand the necessary means for my voyage; and if I am permitted to ask justice, I demand a close confinement, a rigorous process, a legal defence. I protest against a violence without example. I invoke the Constitution, the laws in vigor, the rights of hospitality. I present to the Government my respects.—SANTANGELO.” ( \* )

*Governor*—(receiving seriously the paper)—Well, courage, my friend, our Government is humane, and I will try to do my best in your favor. . . . Good night.” ( \* )

NOTE.—The original order of that banishment is one of the documents which I have demanded on the 16th January, of the present year 1841, from the Mexican Government, through our State Department, in virtue of the article 4th of the Convention of the 11th April, 1839; which demand was rejected by the Board under said Convention, in its sitting of the 3d of the following February, 1841, by *two Mexican nays against two American ayes!* This impudent, despotic *violation* of the treaty, formally denounced to the President of the United States and to the public, has not been taken notice of. The order of banishment in question must therefore be considered as present, filed amongst my other documents, and conceived in the same words as I have stated above.

*Second of July, 1826.*—On being left alone, feelings of the bitterest nature, and impulses as violent as Vesuvian eruptions assailed me at once, and caused me to fall almost senseless on my bed. Soon after I arose as if moved by an irresistible spring, and dragged by an invisible force, I went out to go and pour my griefs into the bosom of friendship. I fled to the house of my excellent countrymen Count Linati and Colonel Galli, at a hundred steps from mine, and caused them to leave their beds.

It is as unnecessary here to describe the excitement produced by my recitals in those two honest hearts, as it would be impossible to give an adequate idea of it. They offered their services, their purse, their blood. One of them read the decree of the 9th May, by which the Executive had been deprived of the dictatorial powers, and cursed Victoria. The other saw me indignantly deprived of all protection from the Government of the United States, by the agreement of its Minister quoted in the article 13th of the regulation (*reglamento*) of the 6th of June, and cursed Poinsett. Both, from the fact of the “*Gaceta del Gobierno*” not having appeared on the preceding Saturday as usual, inferred that some assault was contained

in it against my person, to be published after my leaving the city—both again offered to hide me somewhere until I could have my son from the mines.

At daybreak, Sunday morning, 2d of July, we separated and went in various directions, to inform of the event the leading patriots of the city.

At nine o'clock, I was at home loading my double-barrel musket and pistols; when crowds of persons, known and unknown to me, began to rush into my rooms, questioning me, pitying me, charging with imprecations the Government, offering assistance, &c. Amongst them I saw three editors, three priests, five ladies, several lawyers, a General, many Englishmen, Frenchmen, Italians, some Americans, and other foreigners, all frightened at the despotism displayed by the Ministry, and a large number of Mexican officers of all grades, swearing to put to the sword (*pasar á cuchillo*) all the *Escoceses* of the city. I heard from some of them that a Colonel of cavalry of Toluca had just said to President Victoria, in his own bed room: "Señor Victoria, with the same facility with which our stupid people have placed you on the presidential chair, my sabre will send you to preside over my sheep; you deprive the nation of the only man who has ever made known to her her rights, interests, and dangers," &c.

I remained thus besieged until noon, when I was summoned to the Governor's office, and there informed that I had been granted the delay of eight days to send and wait for my son. I despatched immediately an express. I spent the rest of the day in a kind of stupor, which prevented me from freely using my reason in conversing with my friends. Numerous assemblies of people of all classes were seen in the coffee-houses, in the streets, under the porticos, loudly execrating the policy of the Government.

The "Sun," of this day, 2d July (for it appeared every day, Sundays not excepted), inserted a communication signed "El ojo alerta," singularly coinciding with the occurrences of the day. It attacked at once, most indecently, Mr. Valdes, editor of the "Eagle," Mr. Poinsett, and Commodore David Porter, admitted into the Mexican service. It said: "As Mr. Poinsett is entitled to no vulgar respects of Mr. Valdes on account of the close ties (masonry) which unite them, Mr. Valdes has flattered his opinions by praising the talents of Mr. Porter in such satisfactory terms, as if this *extrangero* (foreigner) had been impartially tried both under a scientific and patriotic aspect," &c. (\*) The rest of the article deserves no notice; it only evinces the extent of the hostility of which Mr. Poinsett was most unjustly the target, and the design to infer indirectly from the pretended culpability of that minister, the justice of my banishment.

*Third of July, 1826.*—Early in the morning of Monday, 3d of July, I was presented with the "Gaceta del Gobierno," of Saturday the 1st, whose publication had been suspended so as not to take



place until after my leaving the city; but the delay I had obtained of eight days, no longer permitted that suspension. The world had in that paper a most luminous proof of the weakness, ignorance, and immorality of that mock Government; for the "Gaceta" is paid there by the nation, and is the exclusive *official* organ of the Executive. What could so cool and base a premeditation be compared to, but the plot of robbers to enter and plunder a bank? Without refuting a single argument of my book—without quoting a single word of it, the writer (the honorable Secretary of State, Camacho) declared my work to be written with characters very worthy of the editors of the "Star" and the "Quotidian" (two French servile journals), and to have deserved the execration of the Mexicans (himself with his worthy colleagues Pedraza and Arispe). I was designated, in derision, as a new Solon, a Mentor, a tutor, wishing to put the Government at the feet of my arrogance, so daring as to intermeddle in the public affairs of a country which did but too much by granting hospitality to an *unknown* man, &c.; concluding by exciting the Government to persecute with more vigorous energy "idle adventurers of unknown origin, chevaliers d'industrie, &c." (17) Such pitiful braying scarcely drew from me a smile of contempt; but it set the whole thinking part of the city in a rage, and a hundred pens went to work.

*Fourth of July, 1826.*—Another number of the "Gaceta" made its appearance on the following day, the 4th of July, commencing thus: "Holy and wholesome was the law of Athens, which condemned to death the foreigner who intermeddled in popular assemblies." The rest of the editorial is so ridiculous and despicable that the least observation would give it an importance which it does not deserve. (18) Its author, a Señor Heredia, was himself a foreigner, a refugee from Havana, and a petty poet, who, by dint of stale flattering verses, had procured a clerkship in the State Department, and was consequently a tool of Camacho.

On the same day a pamphlet was loudly announced in all the streets of the city, under this title: "Si á Santangelo destierran, no hay justicia en la tierra"—(If Santangelo is banished, there is no justice on earth)—it was signed "El Pensador," a much esteemed public writer. The Government was therein accused of ferocity, falsehood, ignorance, and despotism. ( \* )

On my part, I sent a petition to the President, representing that, having been apprized by its "Gaceta," that my "Second Discussion of the Congress of Panama" was the *only* cause of my banishment, I solicited either my complete liberty, or a trial before a competent tribunal. (19)

At the same time I sent a "Memorial" to the Council of the Supreme Government (Consejo del Supremo Gobierno), imploring its official action in the case. That Council was a body of twelve Senators, destined by the Constitution to maintain its observance during the recess of Congress, under the presidency of the Vice

President of the Union. This was, at that period, General Bravo, the Chief of the *Escoceses*. I represented, in substance, that I was utterly ignorant of the motives for which the Constitution and laws then in vigor, and the duties of hospitality, were at once violated by an order which attacked my personal liberty, blackened my honor, and exposed my life to evident dangers; that the measure in question being an open violation of the article 112 of the Constitution, I had a legal action to reclaim the responsibility of every infractor of that supreme law; that there being a tribunal to judge of every abuse of the liberty of the press, I had a right to a trial upon my writings and my outraged honor; and I concluded thus:

"My position, Señores Counsellors, is extremely difficult. After having defended during thirty-four years without interruption, the cause of liberty in Europe, compelled to seek an asylum in America, I am favored by a Republican American Government with the stigma of *sospechoso*, to cause the doors of all other American republics to be closed to me, and thus throw me again into the grasp of the European allied powers to be dragged to the scaffold." (\*)

I went in the evening of this day, 4th of July, to the ball, to which I had been politely invited by the Minister Poinsett. I there met face to face with the priest Minister of Justice, Ramos Arispe, one of my devout persecutors, whom I addressed in the following terms: "Obliged to leave, sir, in a few days for the United States, I would be happy to be honored with your commands for that quarter." The priest, who had always treated me before with cordiality, took offence at this compliment, assumed a grotesque gravity, and told me, in presence of the English Consul, Mr. O'Gorman, and the editor of the "Eagle," Mr. Valdes: "Do you not know, sir, that all Governments can do with strangers what they please?" "Pardon, sir," I then replied, "I had imagined to address my compliments to a Talleyrand, and I see that I have spoken to a toad." The priest, dismayed, immediately retired home—I went to take an ice-cream. This event caused some gay remarks in the city, not very honorable for the honorable Minister.

*Fifth of July, 1826.*—Early in the morning of the 5th July, a pamphlet was cried about the streets, under this title: "Grito contra la Inhumanidad del Gobierno,"—(A Cry against the Inhumanity of the Government,)—signed by the Senator José Maria Alpuche é Infante, and overloading the Government, its "Gaceta," and its ministers with infamy. (\*)

The "Sun," the organ of the Scottish party, published a communication from the learned pen of Lorenzo de Zavala, actual President of the Senate, and the translator of my work, under the name of "El Procurador de la Nacion" (the Attorney of the Nation), beginning thus:

"It is difficult to imagine any step more extravagant than that attempted on the night of from the 1st to the 2d instant, against Mr. O. de A. Santangelo, considered both under the aspect of justice and

policy . . . .” He then enumerated all the damages which were caused me by the measure; fully proved its injustice; proclaimed that I had deserved the title of Mexican citizen; denied in the Executive the right of expelling foreigners; showed all the evils which the nation might expect from such despotism, and concluded: “This Government is always asleep, and only awakes to do mischief.” (20)

On the evening of this same day, I saw my son coming from the mines, and bringing with him the acceptance of his resignation in honorable terms, from his chief the Chev. Rivafinoli. (21) He threw himself into my arms, and bathed my bosom with his tears . . . . Alas! he surmised his horrible fate! . . . . His ardent soul, his point of honor, his filial love, his indomitable courage, would soon have prostrated at his feet one or more of our dastardly oppressors, had I not used all my authority to control his noble transports.

*Sixth of July, 1826.*—The necessity of neutralizing public indignation, which was at every instant growing threatening, suggested to the ministerial trinity the propriety of having my work tried by the Jury of the Press, which is there composed of nine jurors. They could not imagine that the interest of a helpless foreigner could have with those citizens more weight than the honor of their own Government. But never did a tyrannical power make a more complete and shameful failure. Blinded by rage and remorse, they had not been able to perceive the danger of that measure in a moment when the excitement was general, and nearly bursting into an open tumult. The jury having assembled to examine my book, denounced by *somebody* as subversive of the liberty of the land, *unanimously* absolved it, declaring that *there was no room for prosecution*. Signed: José Crespo, Lic. José Maria Casasola, Francisco Giles, Manuel Meneses, Alexandro Valdes, Lic. Ramon de la Pesa, Martin Rivera, Francisco Montes de Oca, Catalino de Orta.

Col. RAFAEL ALARID, *Alcalde*, } (22)  
JOSE ANDRADE, *Clerk*.

This sentence gave a new vigor to the exasperation of the patriots, but did not discourage the Government.

*Seventh of July, 1826.*—Governor F. Molinos transcribed to me, under date of the 7th July, the answer returned by the President, under the same date, to the petition I had addressed to him, dated the 4th, soliciting a trial. The answer was this:

“Let the orders of the 1st and 2d instant be carried into effect.” But the choice of the point where I was to embark was *generously* left to me. (23) This concession was a necessity . . . . . And, although not satisfactory enough to the people, yet it was also perfidiously revoked after my leaving the city, as we shall soon see.

Before my receiving said *ukase*, I had addressed to the President a new petition, stating that, had the *suspicious* alleged against me not vanished in presence of the *unanimous* sentence rendered by the “jury of the press” in my favor, and should other suspicions exist prejudicial to my liberty, life, property, and honor, I demanded to

be imprisoned, tried and regularly defended before any other competent tribunal. (24) To this I received, of course, no answer. Power in vulgar hands never answers when wrong; it only oppresses. I had now the choice of the place of my embarking, the Government having offered to defray the expense of my journey. I then chose to go to Guatemala.

*Eighth of July, 1826.*—Lieutenant-General Pignatelli, furiously indignant at the insults with which the Government had overloaded me, through its “Gaceta” of the 1st and 4th of this month, came out in the “Iris” of the 8th, giving under his own name to the public, the following:

“I shall not examine whether the laws now in vigor in this country authorize the Government to treat foreigners like the Helotes of Sparta. Nor shall I discuss whether the ‘Second Discussion of the Congress of Panama,’ written by Señor Santangelo, in French, and translated by the Mexican Senator Zavala, into Spanish, can be otherwise interpreted than as a masterpiece of wisdom, of politics, and of a true American patriotism, as is attested by all those who have read it, and have no interest in praising or discrediting its author. Neither, in a word, shall I permit myself to inquire whether a foreigner has or not, in Mexico, the right of speaking of Mexico, and of the world, when no law forbids his moving at pleasure his tongue or pen, and no citizen has the right of ordering or forbidding what the laws neither forbid nor order; but I will and can say that an *official* Journal or Gazette of the Government, as it styles itself, and writers who, sheltered under the double title of organs of the Government and directors of public opinion, dare shamelessly to falsify some facts, dream of others which do not exist, and disgorge at random insults, lies and calumnies with the language of a prostitute (*mugercilla de barrio*), and with the reasonings of a madman—such a journal, and such writers ought to attract the attention of a Government that truly loves its own honor, and that of its country towards strangers, and the education and internal tranquillity of the people that trusted it with their destinies. General Filisola and myself being the only countrymen [as Neapolitans] of Mr. Santangelo residing in Mexico, it belongs solely to us to declare to the editor or editors of the “Gaceta del Supremo Gobierno” of the Mexican federation, that in the numbers 28 and 29 of their periodical, they have *belied truth*, and exhibited an evident proof of *their pen being actuated by the most vulgar and criminal passions*. I do declare therefore, on my part, to Mexico and the universe, that I know intimately, from his infancy, Mr. Santangelo, his parents, his family, his circumstances, and I have continued to know afterwards very particularly, his talents, his public services, and his whole life.”

(Here General Pignatelli gives a biographical sketch of my life, although with some inexactness), concluding thus:

“In short, ten campaigns, two [he ought to say three] wounds,

five imprisonments, two capital sentences, the voluntary abandon of titles of nobility, rich revenues, chivalric decorations (*cruces*) won in the field of battle, honorable mention made of him in the official bulletins of several armies, literary and political productions of the highest interest, the fulfilment of commissions of the greatest difficulty, bold and glorious enterprises, aggregation of his name to several scientific societies, known, cherished and respected in all Italy—behold a slight description of the arguments which have induced the editors of the Mexican Gazette to lavish on him the titles of *sluggard, adventurer, of unknown origin, and chevalier d'industrie*. Not many days have elapsed since the death of General Garcia Conde, brother of General Don Juan, whose wife is Louisa de Attellis, niece of Señor Santangelo," &c., &c., &c.

(Signed)

ANDRES PIGNATELLI CERCHIARA,

*Ex-Lieutenant General in the Neapolitan service, under King Murat, and Mexican citizen*" (25)

The effect produced by this lesson to the Mexican Ministry and their "Gaceta," was such as ought to be expected from low men, destitute of honor, incapable of noble feelings, knowing no other road to fame and glory but criminal and cowardly abuse of physical force, to suffocate the dying groans of oppressed innocence. My passport was signed on this very day, 8th of July!!!

*Ninth of July, 1826.*—I received in the morning of the 9th of July my passport, signed the preceding day, 8th, by Camacho (26), with an official note of the Governor Molinos. (27) On the passport was stamped the order of *quitting the territory of the Republic* within the term prescribed, to go to "Centro-America," with my son, equipage, effects, &c., with obligation "to present myself to the authorities on the transit." No *escort* was spoken of in it.

On this same day a "Second Cry against the Inhumanity of the Government," (*Segundo Grito contra la Inhumanidad del Gobierno*), by Senator Alpulche, was vociferated and freely distributed in the city. The noble author openly declared the conduct of the Government, in the person of the Secretary of State, Camacho, to be criminal. He proved that they had trampled upon the article 112 of the Constitution; and that, had they perceived any *doubtful* expression in it, they had violated the article 64, which says: "For the *interpretation*, modification, or repeal of the laws and decrees, the same requisites shall be observed as required for their formation." He reproached the Executive with having usurped the judicial power, by attacking the liberty of the press, and the competency of the "jury," by judging of my work; thus trampling on the article 9th of the constituent act, which, in speaking of the legislative, executive, and judicial powers, says: "Two or more of these powers shall never be united in one person;" and this even when the "jury" had already *absolved* the work of Santangelo; and the cause of the latter *was pending before the Council of the Supreme Government*; reproaching nominally the Minister Ramos Arispe with having said

in his presence in the Senate, that, in spite of said council, Santangelo should leave; and also with having insulted the latter at the ball given by Mr. Poinsett, the Minister of the United States, without respecting the house and the distinguished assemblage, only because the unfortunate Santangelo, filled with terror and urbanity, would give him some satisfactory explanations," &c. ( \* ) The body of this pamphlet was followed by some annotations (notes), in the first of which he said: "Only two persons in the whole district have approved of the conduct of the Government; an officer called *Basadre*, whose odd opinions can neither favor nor offend the laws, &c., and the priest Don *Pablo Llave*, Ex-Minister of Justice, who, in speaking with the President about Santangelo, had said to him: "The fault is yours for having permitted and tolerated those *secret meetings* and *societies*, from which only sprung persecutions against the Government," &c. The latter sentence confirms the fact of my having been taken for a *Yorkine*.

My departure, which was to have taken place this day, 9th of July, was suspended on account of my having been taken ill with a violent fever, and I had been copiously bled.

I sent, however, under this same date, to the "jury" of the press, a formal accusation against the editors of the "*Gaceta*" of the Government. The jury was convoked for the next day.

A pamphlet appeared also on this very day, under this title: "*¿En donde estamos? ¿En Mejico ó en Constantinopla?*" (Where are we? In Mexico or Constantinople?) signed by the "*Historiador de las Locuras*," (the Historian of Follies), in which the greatest part of the proceedings of the past days were recapitulated, commencing from the *nocturnal* visit made to me by the Governor of the District.

*Tenth of July, 1826.*—The "jury" assembled for the revision of the "*Gaceta*" of the 1st and 4th July, denounced by me as calumnious and injurious to my person, "after having attentively and soundly read and examined it, declared, by *eight votes* against *one*, that there was room for the institution of a process. Signed—*Martin Rivera, Luis Bonifacio de Escobar, Doctor Manuel Ramirez, José Zapata, Pedro de la Vega, Manuel Pinson, Juan Nepomuceno del Campillo Quintero, Joaquín Canales, Estanislao de la Cuesta*. Signed—*José Andrade*, Clerk, &c. (28)

On the same day I had to admire the generous patriotism of two foreigners. Mr. Juan de Dios Mayorga, Minister Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Centro-America, on learning that I had resolved to go to Guatemala, called on me and politely handed me an *official* letter of recommendation to Mr. Juan Francisco Soza, Minister of Foreign Affairs of that Republic. (29) This letter alone, coming from a high diplomatic agent, was sufficient to cause all my enemies to blush. But among all ignorant people, a stubbornness as ruthless as ridiculous is always mistaken for "firmness of character."

The French Baron de Perdreauville, actually a citizen of the

United States, an illustrious scholar, with whom I was not then acquainted, spread all over the city a learned pamphlet, entitled, "Santangelo Vengado contra la Gaceta del Gobierno," (Santangelo Revenged against the Government's Gazette). To give here an extract of this production would be to injure its merit. I shall produce a copy of it if required. (\*)

*Eleventh of July, 1826.*—At nine o'clock, in the morning of the 11th of July, I received an *official* communication from the Governor, in the following terms:

"Through the Lieutenant-Colonel, citizen Raphael Martinez, I forward to you, in the name of the Government, *one hundred dollars*, as a help for the expenses of your journey." (30)

I answered:

"I have received from the citizen Raphael Martinez, by order of the citizen Governor Molinos, of this date, and in the name of the Government, the sum of *one hundred dollars*, on account of the expenses of my journey from Mexico to Guatemala, with five mules of burden, three horses, a son, a servant, &c., and I shall continue my journey as long as I shall have means to do so." (31)

From such a *liberality* of the Mexican Government, it was easy to infer its true intentions. . . . . But I was now tired of dealing with such people. I abhorred the idea of remaining any longer under their debasing sway. Sick, or not, I resolved to go, and was now packing my trunks, when two physicians, sent by the Government, Señores Ruiz and Villa, came to examine the state of my health. One of them would feel my pulse; the other would glance at my tongue. . . . . "Gentlemen," said I, "when a man of honor says he is sick, his word must be respected. But as I am more desirous to go far from your masters than they can be to have me far from them, please to report that I am perfectly well, and shall to-morrow be *en route*." The doctors left me in a friendly way. One of them, on his leaving the room, told me with emotion: "Nunca debian tratar á Usted como lo hacen." (They never ought to treat you as they do.)

Scarcely two hours had elapsed when I received another note from the Governor, stating that "he had sent those two physicians by order of the President; and, as they had reported that I was in case of undertaking my journey, he hoped that I would start next day; and that he likewise expected I would acknowledge the receipt of *this order*, and send him a document which evinced, in a *legal form*, my having received *one hundred dollars*," &c. (32) I sent immediately the receipt of the *order*; but in regard to the receipt in *legal form* of said sum, I answered, "that the one I had delivered was *legal enough*." There are moments in this life in which the humblest of men can say to the most powerful and insolent Government: *I will not*. I asked, however, the permission for me, my son, and servant, to carry arms on our way, which was granted (33), notwithstanding my being "*sospechoso*."

I received, during the day, from various respectable gentlemen, both natives and foreigners, upwards of twenty letters of recommendation for personages on the road and in Guatemala, and particularly for the President and other chiefs of that republic; but on account of my having been obliged, afterwards, to change direction, those letters remained in my portfolio, and are ready for presentation.

In the evening, General Guerrero called on me, requesting me to go and take him in my coach on my leaving the city, as he desired to conduct me as far as his farm in Chalco, and keep me there in his company for a couple of days. I promised to do so, and sent my horses and equipage under the care of my servant.

*Twelfth of July, 1826.*—After having deposited, in the store of Messrs. Dick and Ackermann, opposite the Profesa, one thousand and one hundred copies of my "Congress of Panama" for sale, in presence of General Filisola, who never abandoned me one instant in those awful days, I mounted in a rough hackney coach, and at ten o'clock in the morning of the 12th of July, I was with my son and General Guerrero outside of the gates of the city. We were surrounded by a dozen of friends on horseback, who accompanied us courteously for nearly four miles. In the afternoon, we reached Chalco. General Guerrero omitted no means to interest my gratitude. At supper, he related to me all his revolutionary life, and I concluded that his sword had been the *sine qua non* of the Mexican Independence. In any other country, he would have received the honors of the apotheosis, in Mexico, he was judicially assassinated.

*Thirteenth of July, 1826.*—The good General obliged me to remain at his farm all the day, 13th July, in his company. I was sick.

Towards sunset, we received from Mexico the "Sun" of this day, in which we found a communication of Senator Alpuche, bitterly reproaching the poetaster Heredia, clerk in the State Department, with having been the author of the attack made on my person in the "Gaceta" of the 4th of the same month, saying, among other things: "This poet, entrenched behind his office, and protected by the President, tramples unjustly on Señor Santangelo, defaming and wounding him only to flatter the Government and applaud its conduct, which the 'jury' and the whole population of Mexico have disapproved. He endeavors to exact from others a consideration which he has not been willing or able to show to an honorable and virtuous man, helpless and persecuted by despotism in a foreign land." (34)

*Fourteenth of July, 1826.*—I moved for Puebla on the 14th July, at daybreak, laboring under a convulsive fever, and a spasmodic headache, scarcely able to sustain myself on the saddle.

*Fifteenth of July, 1826.*—In the afternoon of the 15th July, I entered the city of Puebla, and on my arriving at the hotel, I went



to bed. I sent, however, forthwith, my son and servant to present our passport to the Governor of that State, General Calderon, who received, with an air somewhat morose, the information of my being prevented, by my indisposition, from continuing my journey. He retained the passport to be rendered to us when ready to move. In the evening, I was waited upon by an aged Italian physician, formerly a surgeon in the Spanish navy. He informed me that the whole city, except only the priesthood and the Governor, had been apprized with horror of the treatment I had received from the Mexican Government.

I received, also, from the post office, several letters from Mexico, all describing the insults which were publicly lavished on the President and his ministers, so that they had been obliged to garrison the palace with double guard, and two cannons pointed before its entrance.

A pamphlet also came to hand, just published in Mexico, and announced loudly in the streets under this title: "Si el Presidente sigue como va, como subió bajará"—(If the President goes on as he does, he will as easily descend as he ascended). It was signed by "El Payo del Rosario," another public writer, whose pen, like that of the "Pensador," was as much feared by the Government, as cherished by all liberal citizens. It bore the indication that it was to be followed by other pamphlets on the same subject. ( \* ) The perversity and the corruption of the ministry were therein depicted in the most striking colors. The author complained of the efforts which they were making to present the Mexicans to the world as cannibals. He affirmed that I was the victim of a timid and jealous aristocracy, and of the *bonhomie* of the President, who was thus losing the esteem of the judicial order, and the love of the people; that I was oppressed without being permitted a defence, because they were afraid to hear it; that I was snatched from the bosom of the Mexican patriots, both by a domestic foe and the power of foreign diplomacy, &c. "It is," said he, "of no avail to have a federal Republic, if the security of men is only the sport of an intriguing minister, nor to have liberal laws if we are only to be judged by violence and caprice. Names do not change the substance of things; a despot king is the same as a despot *President*. What kind of Republic is this, which opens her doors to all nations, offers fraternity to all men, and has no laws for common security? Who will ever wish to become an inhabitant of her, even if she encloses all the riches of the universe, and lands more delightful than the garden of Eden? I would renounce all glory, were I informed that, by a capricious order of St. Peter, I was to go to hell after having cursed the devil," &c.

*Sixteenth of July, 1826.*—In the afternoon of the 16th of July, I was honored with a visit from many officers of the garrison of Puebla, in uniform, headed by Colonel Amador. They expressed in a very lively manner their regret for the treatment I was under-

going, and their indignation against a cabinet composed, as they said, of "pendejos indecentes" (indecent cowards). In speaking of the "Gaceta del Gobierno," they said it was "el oprobio de la nacion" (opprobrium of the nation). I did not utter a single complaint.

*Seventeenth of July, 1826.*—General Calderon, the Governor of the State, sent in the morning of the 17th July two physicians and his Secretary, to examine the state of my health, and was informed that I was not in case of leaving my room.

*Eighteenth of July, 1826.*—Late in the evening, the 18th July, that day's "Sun" came to hand. I found in it two curious tirades.

1st. An editorial thus conceived:

"It is said that Señor Guerrero has detained at his farm Señor O. A. Santangelo, with the object perhaps of complimenting him; but we do not believe that the Government will by any means revoke the provision, in virtue of which he has to quit the territory of the Republic; but on the contrary, it will display the energy required in the case, to carry his departure into effect." (\*) This paper was the organ of the *Escoceses*, and I was thought to be a *Yorkine*. Its hostility to me was then not wonderful. But why did it preserve a prudent neutrality whilst I was in Mexico, and throw down its mask only when I was far from that city, and her gates had been shut to me by a banishment? Was this generous and honorable? For the honor of the Mexicans, let me observe here that the "Sun" was edited by two strangers; a Catalonian, Mr. Cotorníu, and a Colombian, Mr. Santamaria, two veritable *pendejos*.

2d. A communication with this heading: "Justificase el Gobierno de la nota de despótico en el procedimiento de espulsion tenido con el Marques de Santangelo,"—(The Government justified against the stigma of *despotic* in its proceeding in the expulsion of the Marquis of Santangelo). The author was Carlos Maria Bustamante, author of a history of Mexico, in four volumes, a perpetual member of Congress, and a determined supporter of religious intolerance and the *Escoceses*. Nothing could be more singular than this communication; but, as it widely shows the absolute want of plausible reasons for my banishment, I must say two words on it. He began by acknowledging that "Santangelo had evinced the greatest interest and the most ardent wishes for the happiness of Mexico in his writings, which had appeared to him to be liberal and very efficient, to warn the Mexicans against the snares of the European powers." . . . . But that, "in spite of his *affection* and *gratitude* for Santangelo," he had remained a *spectator*, because President Victoria was a patriot, had lived in a cave amongst tigers and serpents, eating worms and dirt, rather than *transact* with the enemy . . . . and then, that he must have had some just or convenient reason for banishing Santangelo . . . . because in all Governments there are *secrets* and *mysteries*, which are not to be revealed . . . . and because, if the Government be sick, plagued with ulcers, it

must be treated with kindness, instead of causing it to grow worse," &c., &c., &c. And, in support of such originalities, he quoted the Trinity, the Genesis, St. Mark, the Angel Raphael, England, the Goths, Judge Battaller, Aristides, Athens, Rome, Scipio, &c. (35)

The editor himself of the "Sun," in the same number, said:

"The Government has expelled from the territory of the republic the *extrangero* Santangelo, as a *sospechoso*, dangerous to public tranquillity or security; and this provision has given motive to some writers to attack the decorum of the Government with so much acrimony and malignity, that had they written amongst a people less judicious and peaceful, public tranquillity could have been compromised," &c. (\*)

But another pamphlet of the same day, 18th July, under the title of: "Satisfaccion del Senador Alpuche," pulverized the silly sarcasms of the "Sun" against *the writers who had attacked the Government*; and answered at the same time triumphantly a paper circulated, in an *anonymous* form, by the Secretary of State, Camacho, entitled: "Justicia de la expulsion de Santangelo;" (\*) in which stupid production the reasons of my expulsion were drawn from the codes of ancient Rome and Athens, without regard to the Mexican Constitution, and from the laws of England and other countries, eccentrically interpreted. The Secretary of State desired to show himself such as he was, and he succeeded.

*Nineteenth of July, 1826.*—The public was informed by the "Sun" of the 19th July, that General Herrera had been appointed Commandant-General of Mexico, *in the stead* of General Filisola, who had had the same destination at Valladolid; that a *change of ministers* was spoken of; and that these measures were thought the only ones which could re-establish public confidence in favor of the Supreme Chief of the Republic, which, *in the agitation of those days*, had become problematic," &c. (36) All this proved the false position in which that unprincipled cabinet had placed itself. Filisola, then Commandant-General of Mexico, because my countryman and friend, was sent to Valladolid, State of Michoacan, to please the *Escoceses*; and the false report about a change of ministers was spread to calm the *Yorkines*. How miserable is a Government when obliged to have recourse to such means to preserve its power! But, if that of Mexico preserved its power, its prestige was certainly gone for ever. A long chain of conspiracies and revolutions sprung from that unpunished abuse of power, and evinced to the world the incapacity of self-government, under which that nation labors and will still longer labor.

On the same day, 19th of July, I addressed a "Memorial" to President Victoria, representing that on my having read again and again my "Second Discussion of the Congress of Panama," I had found no cause for *suspicion* on my account; that I was daily feeling more and more the affront of my expulsion; that I would avoid the necessity of presenting the world with a defence which could

displease my enemies, whom I desired to pardon; that a dignified and philanthropic Government would not think its glory and decorum consisted in not revoking a mistaken measure; that the appearance of a pamphlet, as I was told, entitled "*Caprichos de la Fortuna*"—(the Caprices of Fortune), establishing as the foundation of the democratico-representative Government, the principles and dogmas of absolute monarchical Governments, permitted me no longer to maintain silence; that, imperiously commanded both by my honor and public interest to speak, I addressed him to obtain at least the delivery of my person to a tribunal of justice, &c. ( 37 )

*Twentieth of July, 1826.*—The mail brought me, in the evening of the 20th of July, a number of the "*Eagle*," and two pamphlets.

The *Eagle*, of the same day, reproached the "*Sun*" with having advanced that General Guerrero *had detained me at his farm*, in order to discredit that General, the most solid pillar of the Mexican institutions. "*Señor Guerrero*," added the *Eagle* "went to accompany Santangelo as an act of generosity or humanity, until Rio-Frio, and retained him one day at his farm. This innocent conduct has given room to invectives against that illustrious patriot," &c. The "*Eagle*" said also that it was, as reported, the intention of the President to remove the Minister of the Treasury, Esteva, to *save the nation and satisfy the general clamor*, whilst there was no other general clamor but the articles of the "*Sun*;" and warned the Mexicans against those underhand devices, exclaiming: *Toujours la haine veille et la vertu s'endort.* ( \* )

Of the two pamphlets, the one was published by the "*Pensador*," under this title: "*Oiga el Señor Presidente verdades de un Insurgente*;" (Let the President hear the truth from an Insurgent.) The author begins by saying :

"I shall abstain for the present from taking a part in the question touching the banishment of the celebrated Santangelo. . . . Saying nothing about the justice or injustice of the Government, on this subject, I shall proceed to expose some truths in general, with which the President must become acquainted, as *they interest every body*. Santangelo wrote, no doubt, his "*Discussions*," as the editors of the *Mercury* affirm, actuated by the *most exalted love for our country*. And to what is his "*Second Discussion*" reduced? To demonstrate that the allied European powers will make us war. This is a truth acknowledged *by every body*, and I have myself prognosticated it. But Santangelo proposed also to show by what means this war shall be made to us, and by what means we ought to oppose it; and this I would explain myself had I his talents," &c. ( \* )

The other pamphlet contained the "*Report*" made by the *Committee of Infractions* of the Supreme Government, on my memorial of the 4th July, to that legislative body, soliciting its action on the *un-constitutional* order of my banishment. This learned report, signed

by Senators Martinez and Cañedo, under said date of the 20th July, after having refuted one by one all the allegations produced by the Secretary of State, Camacho, in support of that order, and after having demonstrated that the doctrines of Vattel, quoted by that ignorant functionary, had nothing to do in the case, as they regarded only ambassadors and other public foreign agents, concluded that the President had exceeded his powers, and violated the Constitution, which *expressly* forbids the President to inflict any penalty whatever, or deprive whomsoever of his liberty;" . . . . . and proposed to the Council the following resolutions:

1st. That the process *to be instructed*, conformably with the opinion entertained by the Council about the Government having exceeded its attributions in the expulsion of O. de A. Santangelo, shall consist of the complaint of this person, the observations of the Council, the note which had given room to this report, the report itself, and an authorized copy of the provision dictated by the Minister of Foreign Affairs against said foreigner.

2dly. That, to this effect, the copy spoken of in the preceding article be demanded from the Government.

3dly. That, for the intelligence of the Government, a testimony of these resolutions shall be forwarded to it.

This report, literally and wholly translated into English, is filed in my documents. ( 38 )

NOTA.—The Council of the Supreme Government adopted, in fact, by *eleven* votes against *one*, said resolution. The dissenting vote was given by the President of the Council, Vice-President of the Republic, General Bravo, who was the Grand Commander of the *Scottish* masonry. Amongst the documents which I had asked from the Mexican Government, through the Secretary of State of the United States, and the Board of Commissioners under the Convention of the 11th April, 1839, and rejected by *two nays* of the Mexican Commissioners against the *two ayes* of their American colleagues, there was a copy of the above quoted decree of the Council of the Mexican Supreme Government. ( \* ) This unaccountable violation of the Convention, on the part of said Mexican Commissioners, must therefore cause no prejudice to my rights, and consequently the decree in question of that Council, a copy of which has been legally asked and criminally refused, is to be considered as certain, indubitable, present before the judge, conceived in the same terms as I have exposed, and filed amongst my other documents in support of my claim. The contrary proof is at the charge of those who deny the fact. It is then to be held as *legally* proved that the Council of the Supreme Government of Mexico has declared my banishment, ordered on the 1st July, 1826, as an *arbitrary act of the Mexican Government*. But other incontrovertible proofs of it will be had in the continuation of this statement of facts.

*Twenty-first of July, 1826.*—A Lieutenant of Cavalry, by the name of Señor Cabrera, accompanied by a Sergeant, came at ten

o'clock in the morning, and ordered me *verbally*, on the part of the Governor Calderon, "to get ready for the next day, 22d of July, to start *under his escort*, to go directly to Vera Cruz, where I was to be placed at the disposal of the local authorities." I observed that I was sick; that I had my passport *for Guatemala*, and not for Vera Cruz; that I was left free to travel *without an escort*; and that I was waiting for an answer from the Government of Mexico to a petition I had addressed to it on the 19th of the month. The Lieutenant shrugged his shoulders, and replied, that he was sorry not to be able to answer any question, as the orders he had received, were *positive and peremptory*; after which he retired.

This new piece of impudent perfidy did not astonish me; I was prepared for it. The *one hundred dollars* I had been favored with in Mexico, could certainly not suffice for a journey of four hundred and fifty leagues, as I have already observed. The hypocritical moderation of the Government in letting me leave the capital *without an escort* for a point of *my own choice*, had been suggested by the necessity of having me out of the city without giving room to a tumult, and with the cool design of afterwards carrying into effect the former inhuman ministerial provisions. I then patiently prepared myself for the consummation of the sacrifice; but sent in the evening to the post office the following letter:

"TO PRESIDENT VICTORIA:

"SIR: An officer of cavalry has just communicated to me, verbally, the order from the Governor of this State, to be ready to start to-morrow, *under his escort, for Vera Cruz*. The escort is an arrest, and Vera Cruz is not the place of my destination. Deception is now added to violence. A man whose rights are not respected, and whose just and legal remonstrances are not heard, no longer has duties to fulfil towards his oppressors. He feels, then, morally superior to all persons, governments, or nations, that may have participated, directly or indirectly, actively or silently, to the lawless oppression; and though physically exposed to fall a victim to brutal force, he may justly say, even to his last breath, 'I am a man: my oppressors, be they emperors, kings, or presidents, are nothing but despicable brutes.' Are you a nation, sir? Is the Mexican territory your own property? Are the fundamental, common, or transitory Mexican laws, the expression of your own will? Are the judicial and legislative powers but the sport of your *executive caprices*? Is a ministerial *lettre de cachet* superior in your country to the verdict of a 'jury,' and to the decisions of a 'legislative council?' If so, Mexico is no nation; she has no government; and I am but an innocent unarmed passenger, assaulted by cowardly banditti. You delivered me a passport for Guatemala, pusillanimately fearing the cry of the people against your order for my going to Vera Cruz, and there perish from the *black vomit*; but you limited at the same time the supply for the expenses of my transit to *one*

*hundred dollars*, to render impossible to me a journey of four hundred and fifty leagues, through inhospitable places, with a son, a servant, three horses, five mules, and three *arreros*—a journey neither desired by me, nor justly commanded by you—and scarcely was I out of the sight of the Mexican patriots, than you have placed me *under an escort*, and ordered my *transportation* to Vera Cruz. Indeed, sir, you are neither a President, nor a gentleman, nor even a man. But you can do what you please. Power is always right; but power will never abate.

“SANTANGELO.

“PUEBLA DE LOS ANGELES, 21st July, 1826.

“P. S. I send a copy of this letter to a friend of mine in Mexico, with the order to publish it in case I am assassinated on the road, as will probably happen. But be sure that my life will be sold dear.

S.” ( 39 )

*Twenty-second of July, 1826.*—At eight o'clock, in the morning of the 22d July, the Secretary of the Governor Calderon, brought me my passport, which, on my arrival at Puebla, he had retained. The passport was endorsed with these words:

“The bearer of this passport has arrived in this capital on the 15th instant, and on account of his having been sick, leaves to-day, 22d of the same month, for Xalapa, on his way to the point of his destination.

“JOSE MARIA CALDERON. ( 26 )

“PUEBLA, 22d July, 1826.”

The cunning Governor did not say that I was to be conducted to Vera Cruz; still Xalapa was on the road to that place.

Soon after this visit, eight cavalry soldiers, headed by Lieutenant Cabrera, made their appearance at the door of my hotel, and the procession started in the midst of an immense crowd of people, attracted by the novelty.

On this same day, 22d of July, was distributed in Mexico a second pamphlet of the “*Pensador*,” with the same title as the first: “Let the President hear the Truth from an Insurgent.”(\*) In it the writer, without mentioning my name at all (I was already gone), reproduced all the ideas about the actual state of the country, and all the apprehensions of an invasion from abroad, which I had expressed in my “Second Discussion” of the Congress of Panama, concluding it by giving the Government some rude lessons. He was not banished!

*Twenty-fourth of July, 1826.*—I was half way to Xalapa, when the chief of my escort, Lieutenant Cabrera, received from Governor Calderon, by express, an official communication, dated the 24th of July, in the following terms:

“You are ordered to inform the foreigner A. Santangelo, that the Supreme Government has not thought proper to accede to the solicitation which, through me, he has addressed to it [that of the 19th

July] before his departure from the city [Puebla], and consequently it has directed that he should follow his journey without interruption, until he shall have gone out from the territory of the republic. I expect you will inform me to have, on your part, fulfilled this injunction." ( 40 )

The lieutenant was polite enough to leave this original order in my possession; a new proof of the violence under which I was laboring. I was a true *prisoner*, condemned to go *forcibly*, and fall a victim to the black vomit, which was at the time dreadfully ravaging Vera Cruz.

*Twenty-sixth of July.*—The generous Minister of Guatemala, in Mexico, Señor Mayorga, who had favored me with a warm letter of recommendation to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Centro-America, not knowing that I had been compelled to follow my journey for Vera Cruz, signed a passport for myself, my son Francis, and my servant Stephen Arnoldi, for the city of Guatemala, to spare me the humiliation of showing on the transit the Mexican passport with an order of banishment, and addressed it to me by mail. I received it later at Xalapa. ( 41 )

On this very day, 26th July, was given to the Council of the Supreme Government, the second lecture of the report (*dictamen*) presented by Senators Martinez and Cañedo, members of the Committee of Infractions, and was approved.

*Twenty-ninth of July, 1826.*—From Senator Alpuche I received a letter, whose importance requires it to be inserted in full in this statement of facts. It is the following:

" MEXICO, July 29th, 1826.

" BELOVED ORACIO A. SANTANGELO:—I have given Signor Pignatelli a letter addressed to A. S. Doran, Intendent of the Supreme Court of Justice of the Republic of Centro-America, in your behalf, and I believe you have received it. By the manner in which your expulsion is carried into effect, I see no other resource for you but to represent every thing directly to Congress, in order that in the process, notice be taken of your having obeyed executive orders to march, *whilst sick*, and *under escort*, until the point where you shall have arrived with it. A process is instituting *against the Minister Camacho*; but he will leave for Vera Cruz in these days. *No State has approved the conduct of the Government*, and none but a few miserable beings have granted it the faculty of expelling foreigners. *Your cause is that of people of good sense all over the Republic, and of General Congress.* Time will say more. Honest men are on the watch, without apprehending any insult," &c. ( 42 )

NOTE.—The information given in this letter, that at the period of its date, a "process was instituting against the responsible Minister Camacho," is an evident proof that, at the same period, the Council of the Supreme Government had already issued its decree, declaring



the *unconstitutionality* of my banishment, and the constitutional responsibility of the minister who had signed the order. The Mexican Commissioners in Washington, by rejecting the legal demand which I had made for an authentic copy of that decree, did not expect to see their *rejection* turned into a full conviction of the wrong of their Government. But they will be presented, by and by, with some authentic documents still more conclusive on this subject.

*Thirtieth of July, 1826.*—In the afternoon of the 30th of July, I entered the city of Xalapa, and took lodgings in the hotel "*La Sociedad*" (The Society). There I was informed that General Santa Anna was in town; and, as I was extremely weak and sick, I sent my son for him. He immediately waited upon me, and, on hearing of the treacherous treatment I was enduring on the part of the Government, he went to see General Barragan, the Governor of that State (Vera Cruz), took his orders, and forthwith dismissed my escort, permitting me to remain tranquil in my bed.

*Thirty-first of July.* The City of Mexico was presented with a pamphlet, dated 31st July, under the title of "*Examen of the Faculties of the Government on the Banishment of Foreigners*," with this epigraph:

*Tu, quid ego et populus mecum desideret, audi.*—Hor. Art. Poet.

This work was signed by Juan de Dios Cañedo, one of the Senators, Members of the Council of the Government, and of the Committee of Infractions, who had signed the report before mentioned. It is useless to give here a detailed idea of the merit of this production. It is wholly translated into English, and filed with my documents in the case. Suffice it to say that it unanswerably demonstrates both the *illegality* and the *injustice* of my banishment; and, as to the decree, as *already issued by the Council*, and the *responsibility* of the Minister Camacho, who had been now appointed *Minister Plenipotentiary to London*, it is therein said:

"Let it not be imagined that this pamphlet is published to alarm the people, and still less to discredit the President of the Republic. If the provisions of his Ministers render hostile sometimes, as now happens, public opinion and the literal tenor of our laws and Constitution; if they neutralize the sentences of the "jury," *destroying the reputation of the innocent*, the indications against his conduct being *insufficient to condemn him*, the public will see whether in any of these symptoms is to be discovered the commencement of a disorder, which, like a cancer, ought to be cut off without delay. Let us conclude our observations with the hope that in our next legislative session, a proper satisfaction *for this scandal* might be given, through the examen and correlative decision of the "Grand Jury," whose sentence must qualify it. The Council of Government, in the fulfilment of its duty, *has already made suitable observations on the violation of the Constitution, which it has remarked in the arbitrary conduct which has been observed in the banishment of Santangelo.*

The proceeding is clear and in good order, but we regret to announce that its results will be paralyzed by the departure of the responsible Minister for Great Britain. The Government shall consider whether the desertion of a suit for cause of *responsibility*, commenced in public and prepared in the Council, is convenient and compatible with its dignity. The accusation, which will reach London before the Plenipotentiary, will not prove the best title to inspire confidence, and the prepossession which his high mission demands," &c. ( 43 )

NOTA.—As a Senator, as one of the Committee of Infractions, and as a jurist unrivalled in Mexico, Señor Cañedo has, then, conclusively solved all *legal* questions about my banishment of July, 1826, from that country. From it the existence of the decree of the Council of Government at the period of the 31st July, 1826, is *evident*, and the responsibility of the Minister a *res judicata*. The iniquitous rejection, on the part of the Mexican Commissioners, of the demand I had made since the 16th January of the present year, for a copy of that decree, has, therefore, proved a violation as wanton as *useless* of the Convention, under which they act, of the principles of justice, and of the laws of honor. I say of the *laws of honor*, for to prevent forcibly and lawlessly a party in judgment from availing of his own documents in support of his action, is but a base trick, equally unworthy of the judge and of the gentleman. It is nothing less than a proditory assassination. Finally the stubbornness of the Mexican Government in carrying into effect my expulsion after that legislative enactment, and whilst I was still on the territory of the republic, will find no favor, I trust, in the mind of any upright man.

*First of August, 1826.*—The "Oriente," of Xalapa, of the 1st August, announced the sale of my horses, saddles, guns, pistols, sabres, Spanish and French books, two hundred copies of my first two "Discussions of the Congress of Panama," and sundry other objects. ( 44 ) It is useless to say that I made a considerable loss, especially on my books and horses, in this hasty sale, amounting to not less than nine hundred dollars.

*Fifth of August, 1826.*—Following the advice of Senator Alpuche in his letter of the 29th July, ultimo, I addressed to the Council of the Supreme Government a remonstrance dated the 5th of August, to be filed in the process instituted against the Minister there. I sent it through the chief of that Department, Señor Herrero, whose receipt is filed in my documents. ( 45 )

During my stay in Xalapa two editorials appeared in the Mexican "Sun," one dated the 27th July (\*), and the other the 4th August (\*), both called impartial analysis of my two "Discussions," but in fact containing any thing else but analysis. I answered from my bed in the "Oriente" of the 6th (\*) and 13th of August, those pitiful *pots pourris*; but I must refrain from entering into any detail about them, because my only object here is to claim against the Mexican Government, and not to satirize Mexican talents. On the

other hand, we have already seen who were the editors of that scurrilous paper.

But I had but too much to do with General Santa Anna; and, as this personage, the scourge of his country, ultimately brought my misfortune to its last extremities, it becomes indispensable for me to present him to the judges of my claims on Mexico under his true colors.

Utterly ignorant of his past life, and strongly prepossessed in his favor by his kindness to me personally, his apparent docility to my suggestions, and the political principles he affected to profess, I was easily caught in the trap.

From my first arrival in Xalapa, until the moment of my departure, he never failed to spend his evenings in my company, and often sat on my bed side until two o'clock after midnight. He had the art of never commencing any conversation about himself and his own affairs, but having previously shown, in some way or other, the liveliest interest for mine. As to the general welfare of his country, he *desired* liberty of worship, freedom of conscience, full religious tolerance, the abolition of convents of both sexes, &c., and a liberal public education; the free access of foreigners to the country, the true sovereignty of the States, then the sport of military commanders appointed by the General Government; many constitutional reforms, especially about elections; the total abolition of all Spanish codes, a regular organization of the ministry, the judiciary, the militia, and the army; suitable colonization and naturalization laws; efficient provisions for the foment of the agricultural, manufactural and commercial industry; the opening of roads and canals, and, above all, said he repeatedly, the least intercourse possible with Spaniards, whose unconquerable anti-social vices rendered Mexican civilization impossible. All these things, and others of a similar nature, caused me to feel a true friendship for him; and although I occasionally discovered in him much ambition, some inconsistency, and little scruple in lying, yet, from the opinion I had formed of his countrymen in general, I was convinced of his being the only man in the country, *daring* enough to *commence* the work of national regeneration. On his part, he soon perceived to have obtained my confidence, and did not hesitate in opening himself freely to me.

At first he indignantly condemned my banishment, declared the President and his ministers to be traitors to the country, and offered to keep me at his *hacienda* (farm), where, said he, "all the bayonets of the world will not touch you;" but this offer he made when he had heard from me that I had decidedly refused a similar one made to me by General Guerrero. He then exacted from me the promise of an *eternal uninterrupted correspondence*. He engaged me not to go far from the United States, for the day was not distant for me *to be deservedly repaid by Mexico for my illustrious services to her*. Then again, entering into his own personal concerns, he related to me his life and feats in the shape he pleased; he induced

me to write for him two long articles against his actual antagonists Tornel and Bocanegra (he correcting my bad Spanish), and another against the inertness of the Government in the dangers which threatened at that period the political existence of the nation, giving me a sketch of his own ideas, which I still preserve (\*) as a guide in the compilation of mine. He charged me to have his name, exploits, and patriotism spoken of in the periodicals of the United States, France, England, &c., for which he left with me a large sheet of paper, the first three pages of which contained his biography as expressed in a certain memorial, and the fourth some particular actions of his political life, of his own writing, which I likewise have still in my desk. (\*) All other conversations were on politics, about which he had no other ideas but his own, the newspapers forming his only political bible. I was, however, pleased with his *good intentions*. . . . But the continuation of this statement of facts will show (I am ashamed of it) the facility with which I permitted myself to be imposed upon by such a man.

*Seventh of August, 1826.*—Before my leaving the city of Mexico, I had appointed Colonel Florencio Galli my attorney, to prosecute in my name my action, admitted by the “Jury of the Press” on the 10th of July, against the editors of the “Gaceta del Gobierno.” I then received in Xalapa from him four letters on this subject, dated 22d and 26th July, and 5th and 9th August, which will be presented if required (\*). From them I learned that the two defamatory articles of the Gaceta, dated 1st and 4th July, had been inserted by two clerks of the State Department, and of course, very humble servants of the honorable *Secretary of State* Camacho, named Inclan and Heredia; with this difference, however, that Inclan had only lent his name, the article of the 1st having been written by that learned and polite Secretary of State; and the second had been the sublime offspring of the poet Heredia. Colonel Galli arraigned both before the “Alcalde primero” Señor Elizalde; but Inclan, unwilling to go to jail in the stead of his master Camacho, did not appear; and Heredia, assisted by Colonel Basadre, who had always professed to be my *friend*, made at the sitting of the 7th of August, this declaration: “By inserting in the ‘Gaceta’ of the 4th July an article relating to the banishment of Mr. O. de A. Santangelo, I had no intention to offend his person, name or honor.” According to this apologetic argument, no crime on earth ought ever to be punished whenever the criminal moves in his favor an *intentional* question, which Divinity alone can solve. In the meantime, Camacho started for London in quality of Minister Plenipotentiary, leaving his portfolio *pro tempore* to the chief clerk of his State Department, Espinosa de los Monteros. Force put me on board of the brig Emeline, bound to Philadelphia. Inclan, Camacho’s tool, was not to be found. The prosecution was then suspended, and my honor, name and person, remained a prey to the vultures.

NOTA.—THE “CAMACHO” IN QUESTION IS SAID TO BE THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS IN MEXICO, UNDER WHOSE INSTRUCTIONS THE MEXICAN COMMISSIONERS ARE TO ADJUST MY CLAIM IN WASHINGTON. AM I NOT MOST EVIDENTLY PUT BY THE CONVENTION OF THE 11TH APRIL, 1839, WITH MEXICO, IN THE MOST ATROCIOUS, COWARDLY, AND UNHOLY MANNER, IN THE POWER OF THE VERY TIGER, FROM WHOSE CLAWS THE BLOOD OF MY SON IS STILL DROPPING, AND WHO IS PERSONALLY INTERESTED IN MY TOTAL DESTRUCTION? PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES! THIS HAPPENS, AMONG YOU, TO ONE OF YOUR MOST DEVOTED FELLOW CITIZENS, AND YOU SUFFER IT . . . . .

*Twelfth of August, 1826.*—Governor Barragan, on his having read in a newspaper of Vera Cruz, that an American vessel, bound for Philadelphia, was there ready for sea, sent me a verbal order, in the morning of the 12th of August, to get ready to start next day for that place. He, at the same time, returned my passport, with an annotation under the same date, his hand and seal, conceived thus :

“He continues his journey to the port of Vera Cruz, where he shall embark, previously presenting himself to the chief political authority of said place, and to the chief of the Navy Department.” (26)

On this day General Santa Anna gave me a dinner, and an order on his brother Colonel Santa Anna, in Vera Cruz, to pay me the price of the fifty copies of my “Congress of Panama,” which he acknowledged with his letter of the 8th June to have received to sell to his friends on my account. General Barragan himself wished to compliment me with a supper, enlivened by the musical band of the place.

*Thirteenth of August, 1826.*—I started early in the morning of the 13th of August, under an escort of four horsemen and an officer, which had been liberally given to me, without my having asked it, only to *guard me against the highway robbers*. . . . I, with my son, occupied a litter ; my servant rode a hired horse ; my equipage charged on mules.

*Sixteenth of August, 1826.*—I entered Vera Cruz in the evening of the 15th August, and on the 16th the American Consul Mr. Taylor, and Commodore D. Porter, then commander-in-chief of the Mexican Navy, treated me and my son to a dinner. The latter favored me with an open letter of introduction to his lady in Washington, which I forwarded, retaining a copy of it. ( 46 )

*Seventeenth of August, 1826.*—A patriotic dinner was given me by eighteen persons of very respectable appearance, all unknown to me, except Mr. Teurbe y Tolon, a lawyer, and Mr. Ramon Ceruti, the editor of the “Mercurio.” The toasts drank on this occasion, proved that power cannot shelter any man from infamy when not exercised with justice.

I left with Mr. Ceruti one hundred copies of my “Discussions of

the Congress of Panama," to be sold on my account, but I never received a cent for them.

I presented to Colonel Santa Anna the order of the General his brother, for \$125; he retained the order, promising to acquit it next day, but he became invisible—a little swindling combined between those two honorable soldiers.

Towards sunset I sent my baggage on board the brig *Emeline*; but she was not yet ready to weigh anchor.

*Eighteenth of August, 1826.*—The Chief of the Department gave me a State passport, to embark with my son and servant, on which the Captain of the port wrote his permission for our admission to the vessel. ( 47 )

In the evening I received letters from Mexico, with such informations which would have caused any man to prefer chimney sweeping to the Mexican presidency.

*Nineteenth of August, 1826.*—Robbed of upwards of four hundred dollars in cash and effects, and abandoned by my servant, I embarked with my son at nine o'clock in the morning, after having put into the post office a Farewell to the Mexican Patriots, addressed to the "*Oriente*," of Xalapa, for publication. ( 48 ) I found on board the "*Emeline*" a large supply of delicacies and liquors, sent by unknown persons for my use. We set sail at 10, A. M. At 8 o'clock in the evening we were fifty miles from the port. My son would not take supper; he felt unwell.

*Twentieth of August, 1826.*—My son had the yellow fever. All the symptoms of this horrid morbus appeared at once, and the cabin was immediately deserted by all the passengers. No physicians, no bleeders, no medicines; and my unintelligible English made still more difficult all assistance from any soul on board. The sea was constantly agitated; the heat insupportable; the sight of the helpless sufferer desolating. I placed his bed on the floor in the cabin, he being unable to move from or to his berth. My head rested on his own pillow during those few moments of rest which I was allowed both by my mortal anguish, and my weariness in making vain efforts to afford him relief. The black vomit commenced on the fourth day. Twice the delirious boy rushed on deck attempting to jump overboard, and twice I succeeded in bringing him back to his couch. Here I must stop, and reserve for some other occasion the horrible tale of what happened to myself from the moment I lost all hope for the safety of my child. He fought nearly nine days against his fate.

*Twenty-eighth of August, 1826.*—A quarter of an hour before breathing his last, the victim calmly but interruptedly, uttered these words: "Father, I leave you alone . . . who will take care of you? . . . this is my only grief . . . father . . . bless me . . . pardon our enemies . . . bless me . . ." His agony began; at 6 o'clock in the morning he was no more . . . and still he looked at me steadily . . . I imagined that by blowing my breath into his

mouth, I could still obtain a sign of life . . . but I fell senseless on the corpse, and kept it tightly embraced, until my groans induced somebody to come, and draw me forcibly from that posture. This was the first and only time in which, during my long and stormy life, I lost courage. Two sentences of death had made me laugh; deluges of fire on the field of battle and at the breach, had never caused my cheeks to grow pale; the sabre of the bravest of swordsmen had never pushed me back an inch; I had celebrated in Gibraltar, in December, 1823, the news of the confiscation of all my property in Italy, with a jovial dinner to my friends; but on the brig *Emeline*, I experienced the truth, that moral extremities always touch each other. At noon a rough coffin received the precious remains of my own Francis, and, filled with ballast and nailed, was trusted to the abysses of the Mexican gulph; being present the Captain Robert Rae, the mate William Paul, and the passengers William S. Parrott, Adele Parrott, his wife, Louis Duclaud, a Frenchman, and Charles Parry, an Englishman. (49) I could not shed a tear; a tremendous palsy overspread my whole body; my tongue horribly swelled, my eyes stupid, unable to hear, see, or speak. I thought my last hour was quickly approaching. Next day, through Mr. Duclaud, I requested the Captain to have ready for me a coffin, better made than the one that had enclosed my unfortunate son, and I paid for it, after we landed, seven dollars. I attempted, likewise, to make my will, that is a letter to the Count of Surveilliers, with a summary inventory of what I had on board, praying to have it forwarded to a sister of mine in Italy; but I was not strong enough for that. Water was my only aliment during ten days . . . and, strange as it appears to be, my very exhaustion saved my life. No fever, no vomit. I was preserved for Mexican outrages of a worse character! . . . To add to my misfortune, the Captain mistook his direction, and we found ourselves near Pensacola, believing to be on the Tortugas, which caused our passage to last forty-four days. A dreadful storm, off Cape Hatteras, which lasted three days and three nights, threatened all on board with destruction. The death of Madame Adele Parrott, and her burial in the waves, excited a remembrance which tore my heart piecemeal.

*Third of October, 1826.*—I landed on the 3d October, in Philadelphia. It would be out of place here to describe all my adventures in that city, and the additional damages I had to endure in consequence of my distracted mind. I saw no more my faithful friend and companion with me. I had lost an only son; one whose education had cost me ten thousand ducats; whose talents, virtues, and acquirements, were of the highest order; whose death was looked upon by all those who knew him as a public loss; whose sole appearance was a fortune; and whose company made me never feel the horrors of forced emigration. And by whom and how could an adequate estimate of those damages be now made, after the lapse of sixteen years, but by the powerful imagination of a

generous and experienced connoisseur of the world, especially of men of a certain rank, crushed by fate on unknown shores? . . . . . The acquaintance I had the fortune of making with Mr. Clay, on a steamboat, and with Messrs. Carey, Duponceau, Sergeant, Walsh, and other *savants*, in a brilliant circle, was of no avail to me; my disconcerted moral faculties did not permit me to derive any comfort from their conversations. About my "Congress of Panama," President Adams, whom I visited at the Mansion House in Philadelphia, whilst he was passing through that city, assured me that he had laughed heartily at my having said, somewhere in that book, that "the Mexican Plenipotentiary, Michelena, had been in London only to learn how to eat roast beef." And these peculiarly consoling words of his Excellency were the only thanks I have ever received for all the injuries I had suffered, for having defended the honor and interests of the United States, and their diplomatic agent in Mexico!

*Eleventh of November, 1826.*—I shall, however, mention here, with gratitude, the incomparable benevolence of an English lawyer, Mr. John Jordan, who had arrived at Philadelphia, from Mexico, some time after my landing in that city, and was of course fully informed of my adventures in that would-be Republic. He published, in the National Gazette of the 11th November, a "Necrology," where he gave a touching idea of my banishment, as the cause of the untimely end of my son, and of the excellence of his character, concluding thus: "But the citizens of the world are entitled, in our opinion, to propose to the Mexican Government questions of a much more serious nature, and which the limits of a necrological article oblige us to defer to another opportunity." (50) A copy of this "Necrology" was transmitted, under the same date of its publication, to Mr. Zavala, in Mexico, who acknowledged its exactness, as we shall see from his answer.

*Third of December, 1826.*—And, in fact, Mr. Jordan published on the 3d of December next, a voluminous pamphlet, in which both the bad faith and the gross ignorance of the Mexican cabinet were learnedly put in evidence, under the title of "*Serious Actual Dangers of Foreigners and Foreign Commerce in the Mexican States*," &c. (\*) I have filed amongst my documents only the "Introductory Remarks," showing the object of the work. (51) I shall exhibit the whole pamphlet if required. (\*)

I owe not less expressive acknowledgments to Doctor McMeurtrie, an American philanthropist, who, being perfectly conversant with the French language, was able efficiently to pour the balsam of a sound philosophy in my wounded heart, and cause me to perceive that, by following his advice, to abandon solitary life, and procure a suitable consort, a powerful remedy would be applied to my inconsolable griefs. But let us follow the chronological order of the documents accompanying this statement of facts.

*Ninth of December, 1826.*—The "Mercurio," of Vera Cruz, re-



published a letter copied from the "Correo de la Federacion," of Mexico, to which it had been addressed by some inhabitant of that city, of the following tenor:

"Citizen Editors: By a creditable letter from Philadelphia, I have received news which show how indefatigable is bad fortune when determined to persecute an unhappy being. O. de A. Santangelo, says a friend of mine, arrived here almost *insane*, on account of the death of his beloved and only son, who was accompanying him to his destination. He was eighteen years old, and died, after being ten days at sea, from the black vomit, which he had caught in Vera Cruz. This unfortunate and interesting youth inspired more hopes than many of his age. His last words expressed that he was sorry to die only because he left his father without assistance. In fact, he was the *sole comfort* remaining to that poor old gentleman after so many calamities, which were the effect of his extraordinary love of liberty. *The labors of the son were the only funds which supported the father*, whose talents are of the class of those which produce envy and persecution, but no money. At the unexpected news of the banishment of his father, the son *had abandoned a very advantageous situation* in the Mexican Republic, to accompany, in his unhappy fate, him from whom he had received life; assisting, consoling, and *sustaining him with his labors* and the sweat of his brow. The sight of this disconsolate father would affect the hardest heart. Absorbed in the deepest grief, his eyes having neither tears nor movement, he passes from the state of stupor to fury and delirium, uttering the most terrible imprecations against his own unbridled love for liberty, which he accuses to have been the assassin of his idolized son, and against . . . . Here I must cease transcribing the letter, my only purpose being to make known the very sad fate of a man, who, a few months ago, called the attention of all the republic, abstaining from making observations, to give no room to sinister interpretations.

(Signed)

"C. C." (52)

*Twentieth of December, 1826.*—Senator Zavala, in answer to my letter of the 11th November, wrote me under date of the 20th December:

"The news of the death of your son has already caused some tears to flow from those who had been intimate with his father, and knew that interesting youth, and has planted the *dagger of remorse in the bosoms of those who co-operated in this catastrophe*. An article had already been published in the "Correo de la Federacion," a periodical which is edited under my direction, in which your misfortune was depicted with colors worthy of the event. I will send it to you by the first opportunity, if our friend Mr. Pignatelli has not yet done so. I have received the scrip of the gazette of your city, containing *an exact* relation of your banishment and sufferings. I believe it very *à propos* that you should multiply your

productions in your country, declaiming, above all, against *the dullness of the Mexican ministry*; an idea which I insinuated before your departure, and which I do not cast aside.

"I am waiting for the third and fourth parts of the "Discussions of Panama," as well as for the *power of attorney* which you spoke of, for the despatch of your affair. You will then freely return to this country, which knows how to appreciate your merit, and which you, on your part, will enrich with your literary productions," &c. (53)

*January, 1827.*—With the intention of marrying, and the certainty of receiving money from Europe, I had in those days fitted up in fashionable style a three-story house in 5th street, belonging to Mr. Gordon, a lawyer. There Mr. Tolon, whom I had lately seen in Vera Cruz, applied to me for hospitality (he having been appointed Mexican Consul in Philadelphia) whilst waiting for means to open an office. Always ready to evince my gratitude to the Mexican patriots, I kept Señor Tolon six weeks under my roof, at my table, and advanced him ten doubloons. From the moment he opened his office I saw him no more, and the doubloons were lost.

*Twenty-fifth February, 1827.*—With a letter dated 25th February, I sent to Senator Zavala my "power of attorney" *in blank*, authorizing him to give it to some person of his own choice, and explaining that the redress due to me was to be demanded from the Government itself, and not from the responsible Minister; for his responsibility was towards his own Government, and not directly towards my person, the banishment having been inflicted upon me by order of the President, and not of the Minister. I explained, likewise, the reasons for which I had refrained from soliciting, in that occurrence, the protection of the Government of the United States. I informed him of the advice I had received from some of our friends, to limit my claim for all the outrages, injuries, and losses, to twenty-five or thirty thousand dollars, leaving to the generosity of Congress to determine the indemnity due for the inestimable loss of my son; and, finally, I asked some information about Mr. Tolon, and a Mexican General, Señor Cortes, who had been arrested for debt, &c. (54)

*Fourth of April, 1827.*—The good McMeurtrie, solicitous to procure me some distraction, advised me to open a "Literary Institute" for gentlemen, who would learn some languages and reside in my house. He then published, in the "Democratic Press" of Philadelphia, of the 4th April (55), an article which soon procured me a number of pupils; but I did not know then how to teach languages, and I learned more from them in English than they did from me in French or Spanish.

*Twentieth of April, 1827.*—Senator Zavala wrote me a letter, dated Tescoco, 20th April, informing me that he had been appointed Governor of the State of Mexico, and that the day was not distant in

which he, by using his influence in an *infallible* manner, would procure my *return* and happiness. He acknowledged, likewise, the receipt of my "power of attorney," informing me to have substituted to it Senator Alpuche, he residing out of Mexico, &c. And then, indulging in patriotic lamentations, said: "I believe that another generation is necessary for these people to cease from judaizing so much. I never knew a people so adverse to foreigners. . . . These gentlemen believe that foreigners come here to take their bread away from them," &c. And as to Tolon and Cortes, he said: "He (Tolon) is my friend, and is honest, although with a certain levity which is the characteristic of the people of his country (Havana); but his friendship is appreciable. As to Cortes, you have defined him exactly; he is known for such in the country." (56)

*Twentieth of May, 1827.*—I had not yet received the letter of the 20th of April, from Zavala, when I wrote him another, dated 20th May, soliciting the receipt of the "power of attorney," and referring him to the instructions contained in my preceding letter. As to my Third and Fourth Discussions of Panama, of which he spoke to me in his letter of the 20th December, 1826, I gave him the reasons why I had determined not to publish them; saying, amongst other things, that Mexico should be left to herself, to run the fate of all new and ignorant nations, who prefer to learn rather by dint of errors and misfortunes than by precepts and advices, especially when coming from a foreign pen; for ignorance and pride are inseparable, and unconquerable but by education and the whip of time. (57)

*Twenty-sixth May, 1827.*—Zavala's letter of the 20th April having now come to hand, I answered it under date of the 26th May, congratulating him upon his appointment of Governor of the State of Mexico. "What a curious contrast!" added I. "The author of a book banished like a brigand, and its translator and commentator, the accomplice of the author, created Governor of a State! Yet, no jurist ever denied that, in matter of political crimes, a *foreigner* is always less punishable than a *native*, as a violator of fewer duties; and, for the same reason, a common murder was deemed to be less important than a parricide. . . ." With respect to the "power of attorney," which he said he had received and substituted to it Senator Alpuche, I made some observations, adding that in case the circumstances of the day did not permit Congress to pay much attention to my claim, the Spanish party being still predominant in all their councils, I would wait in silence until a new Administration shall have changed the face of things, &c. (58)

*Twenty-first June, 1827.*—To leave no room to obscurities or sophisms in this statement of facts, I must relate what follows.

I was told that a young lady, on reading the pamphlet of John Jordan, and other publications relating to my misfortunes, had been much affected by them. Curious to know her, I succeeded in being introduced, and a reciprocal geniality soon united our hearts. The necessity of having a companion, the desire of giving new proofs

of attachment to my adopted country by marrying a native, and not expecting now from Mexico but a kind reception in the case of my being obliged to repair there again to have my claim settled, all these considerations prompted me to associate that generous soul to my fate. Alas! I did not suspect that I prepared another victim for the stupid inhumanity of another Mexican despot. This lady was Miss Mary Houston, daughter of late James Houston, cashier of the United States Bank of Philadelphia. She was then fatherless, but of age, and endowed with literary acquirements. The marriage was celebrated on the 21st June, by the Rev. McCalla, a Presbyterian minister. I was the bearer of the certificate of the death of my first wife, which happened on the 15th June, 1822, legalized by the American Consul in Naples, Mr. Alexander Hammet, and in which it is stated that the deceased had left *one son* under age, procreated with Orazio de Attellis marquis of Santangelo, *absent* (J). I was in Spain. This *one son* was my Francis, killed by the Mexican Government in my arms; and this is also proved by the certificate of his birth (F), and that of my marriage with his mother Henrietta Martino, the dutchess of Pietra d' Oro. (C)

*Twenty-fifth of July, 1827.*—Governor Zavala, with a letter dated San Agustin de las Cuevas, 25th July, acknowledged the receipt of both mine of the 20th and 26th May, and said to me, among other things:

“We are engaged now in obtaining General Guerrero for President; and it is necessary that *you should aid us, in every possible manner, in the country where you are.* This chief has influence, good intentions, and public opinion in his favor. The Solares (editors of the Sun), and the Bourbonists continue working. Mr. Martin (the French agent) has joined their banners, and by this he has confirmed the suspicions you had inspired of the intentions of this personage and his Government. *I earnestly desire that you will write, and it will always be convenient that you should publish what you write, and transmit to me all publications.*” (59)

*Nineteenth August, 1827.*—The intelligence of General Guerrero being one of the candidates for the next presidency, had already reached me before I received the letter of Zavala; I promised him, in my reply of the 19th of August, to second his honest views; and entreated him at the same time to solicit in my behalf the interference of that General in my affair with Dick, who, said I, “seems determined to defraud me of \$2,750, the price of one thousand and one hundred copies of my ‘Congress of Panama.’” Finally, I informed him that I was preparing a biography of Guerrero, to have it published in the “Mercurio,” of New-York, a good Spanish paper, published there by Mr. Purroy; and that the biographies of himself, and of our good friend Santa Anna, would follow, &c.

On this same day, 19th August, I wrote to General Guerrero about my disagreeable affair with Dick. (60)

*Twenty-eighth of September, 1827.*—General Guerrero, having

been appointed Commandant General of the State of Vera Cruz, went to reside in Xalapa, where he received the foregoing letter, and whence he answered, under date of the 28th September, on the subject of Dick, the following: "By the anterior mail, I have written to General Filisola [in Mexico], asking an exact information about all the antecedents he may have in his possession with respect to the commission you have given me about Dick, in order to be able to act with all security in the demand which I shall produce in your behalf, for the just, very just recovery of the sum, which I would advance you with pleasure, had I in this moment the necessary means; but the excessive expenses, which I have met with on my arrival at this town, and those which have been the consequence of the employment of Commandant General of this State, deprive me of so great a satisfaction and duty," &c. (61)

*November, 1827.*—My "Literary Institute" of Philadelphia had but a short duration. My marriage first caused its suspension; and then a bill of exchange for \$2,000, which I had drawn on Mr. Giardini, a merchant of Gibraltar, who had from Naples the order of putting that sum at my disposal, having been returned protested on account of the failure of that merchant, I accepted the offer made to me by an old friend of mine, the poet Lorenzo Daponte, to go and live in his house in New-York until a better moment; and I did so in November, 1827.

*January, 1828.*—I then resolved to establish in New-York a boarding school for young ladies, under the direction of my wife. I was, however, too little known to flatter myself with a favorable success without giving the public respectable references, and this I could not do. Through a Professor of Mathematics in the Columbia College, Mr. Anderson, with whom I had become acquainted at Daponte's, I obtained the use of the chapel of said College, to give some public lectures there, gratis, in French, Spanish and Italian, on various interesting subjects. The public applauded, several periodicals spoke favorably, I gained a name, and my establishment was opened towards the end of January, 1828, under propitious auspices.

*Twenty-sixth of May, 1828.*—Under date of the 26th May, I wrote two letters to my relations in Naples. I directed one to the care of the American Consul there, Mr. Alexander Hammet, and the other to that of Messrs. Rogers, Brothers & Co., American merchants in that city. The object of these letters was to learn something about the failure of Mr. Giardini, the fate of the sum which was to have been paid to me through him, and other domestic concerns; and to avoid all obstacles from the Neapolitan police, then on the watch against all correspondences with foreign countries, I had sent them unsealed. We shall soon see, from the answers of those gentlemen, both their shameful pusillanimity and the strong reasons I had had to cross the Atlantic.

*Twenty-fifth of July, 1828.*—I enclosed to the Mexican Minister

in Washington, Don Pablo Obregon, two letters, which I addressed under date of 25th July, to the Mexican President Victoria, the one in official form, the other confidential. The former, of which I preserved no copy, contained the demand of his permission to pay a second and short visit to Mexico, to adjust there my affairs; the latter was more important. I presented that President with a full development of my mysterious banishment, and of the *mistaken* impressions under which he was laboring at the time, by ordering it in spite of the *judicial* and *legislative* authority. I proved to him the fact of my having been wrongly thought to be a *Yorkine partisan* of Mr. Poinsett, and an emissary of the United States, only because I had made, as a mere diplomatic observer, in my "Congress of Panama," the defence of the rights of the latter, and of the proposals of the former in the treaty he was then negotiating with Mexico, &c., and, claiming against the atrocious wrongs inflicted on me, I asked the revocation of my banishment, and concluded: "Thus I put your uprightness to the test; and from all the explanations above given to you, you will perceive that your justice towards me will procure for yourself a great many noble and *substantial* advantages." (62) This piece deserves the particular attention of the judges of my claims on Mexico.

*Twenty-eighth of July, 1828.*—The Secretary of the Mexican Legation in Washington, Señor J. M. Montoya, acknowledged under date of 28th July, the receipt of my letter of the 25th, in which I enclosed the package addressed by me to President Victoria. (63)

*First of August, 1828.*—I addressed, dated the 1st August, another *confidential* letter to the Mexican Minister of War, Pedraza, one of the three Ministers who had agreed with the President about my expulsion; and after having informed him of the letters I had addressed to that President, I said:

"In this case, imitating Napoleon who went to place himself, like Themistocles, in the hands of his enemies, I come to put my cause in yours, entreating you to implore in my favor a determination from Señor Victoria, which might lessen the evils he has caused to me; and I am confident that, should you read my confidential communication to him, you will not treat me as the English treated Napoleon." (64)

*Fifteenth of August, 1828.*—Certain that Pedraza had not spirit enough to answer said confidential epistle of the 1st August, I wrote him another in official form, dated the 15th, soliciting merely his mediation with the President. "That I may know," said I, "in a positive and conclusive manner, for my own government, whether after so many proofs of my innocence and *respectful forbearance*, I had to hope, or not, for a passport, or a competent redress," &c. (65).

Under this same date, of 15th of August, the American Consul in Naples, a truly *high-minded, generous, prudent* and *delicate* American agent abroad, wrote me the following:

"SIR: The steamboat brought me from Malta your letter, dated New-York, the 26th last May, with the enclosures for your sisters, which were immediately delivered. Enclosed you will receive their reply. Though I have not the honor of your personal acquaintance, I would with pleasure render you or others similar favors, if it were in my power, without giving *umbrage* to the Government where I reside. After so many misfortunes, *prudence* as well as *delicacy* ought to hinder you *from compromising others*. You will therefore be pleased *to excuse me from commissions in future*, having corresponded so far to the confidence you reposed in me.

"With regard, I have the honor to be your obedient servant,  
"ALEXANDER HAMMET.

"To the Marquis Sant'Angelo, New-York." (66)

*Twentieth of August, 1828.*—And from the *prudent and delicate* Messrs. Rogers, Brothers & Co., I was favored a little later with their answer, dated Naples, the 20th August, in these obliging terms:

"SIR: Your favor, 26th May, was duly received, and your enclosure for your sister delivered; but for circumstances *we cannot explain*, we must beg you will *not address your letters to our care henceforward*. We however have promised to forward you the two enclosed letters, which hope will reach you safe.

"We are, respectfully, Sir, your most obedient servants,  
"ROGERS, BROTHERS & Co.

Direction: "A Monsieur le Marquis de St. Angelo, New-York." (67)

*Eighteenth of September, 1828.*—The Minister of War, *Pedraza*, acknowledged, *officially*, under date of 18th September, the receipt of my communication of the 15th August, informing me to have forwarded it to the Secretary of State (*negocios extrangeros*). (68)

*Twenty-third of September, 1828.*—With another *official* note of the 23d September, Señor Pedraza notified me that the President had been so good as to decree that, *for the present*, my petition *could not be granted*. (69)

*Fifteenth of October, 1828.*—I had not yet received the above notes of Pedraza, when I addressed one, dated the 15th October, to the Minister of the Treasury, Esteva, in which I said: "I would only ask of your colleagues, what advantage have they derived for their country or for themselves, by exhaling against me the rage excited in them, right or wrong, by Mr. Poinsett. Examining my book, I only find that it is impossible for the same person to be at once a Mexican patriot and my enemy." I spoke to him, moreover, of the redress to which I had a right, and engaged him to make his colleagues understand the prudent conduct I was observing towards them in a country where I could revenge myself freely, and which ought to convince them of my respect, both for the Mexican name and their personal honor. (70)

*Fifth of November, 1828.*—The note of Señor Pedraza, of the 23d

September, having now come to hand, I indignantly answered it, under date of the 5th November, in such terms as could not be repeated here without giving room to some mistaken or malignant applications. . . . .

*Twenty-ninth of November, 1828.*—In the beginning of this year, 1828, General Bravo, the chief of the *Escoceses*, to secure for himself the next presidency, for every wood has its own smoke, had made a *pronunciamiento* in Tulancingo, demanding, sword in hand, the dismissal of some *Yorkine* functionaries, and the expulsion of the American Minister Poinsett. General Guerrero, however, defeated him, and made him prisoner. This victory had increased the probability of the election of Guerrero, in preference to his rival Pedraza. On this account the Minister Esteva, in answer to my note of 15th October, told me, under date of the 29th November:

“It seems to me that the day is approaching, in which the Mexicans, forgetting all domestic dissensions, which prevent them from attending to their common defence [the dangers foreseen by me were then not ephemeral], will be able to unite to exterminate the tyrant who may attempt to oppress them, and destroy their independence and liberty; and I shall lose sight of no occasion to derive from the Mexican Government a magnanimous demonstration of benevolence, if possible, in your favor.” ( 71 )

*Fourth of December, 1828.*—The new elections took place. The majority of the State Legislature had been in favor of Pedraza; but the great majority of the people was for Guerrero. Thence an appeal to arms; and the infernal Revolution of the 4th December, 1828, called “The Acordada,” followed by several days of pillage, gave the victory to the latter. Pedraza retired to France.

*January, 1829.*—The new Congress assembled in the beginning of January, 1829, proclaimed null the election of Pedraza, and valid that of Guerrero, who took possession of the presidency, and appointed Zavala, my translator, Minister of the Treasury; Cañedo, the eminent supporter of my cause, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Esteva, my good friend, Post-Master General. The Vice President elected was General Anastasio Bustamante.

*Twelfth of February, 1829.*—Informed of these events, I wrote under the date of the 12th of February, a short letter to Zavala, reminding him of my services, sufferings, rights, &c.

*Thirteenth of March, 1829.*—I addressed a similar letter to Esteva, dated 13th March; to which I received no answer until the 3d of October, as we shall see hereafter.

*Twentieth of April, 1829.*—The answer which, dated 20th April, I received from Zavala, was this:

“I have shown to President Guerrero your letter of February last, by which you solicit the permission of which you have spoken to me on other occasions, to return to this republic, from which you were *arbitrarily* banished; and His Excellency has directed me to answer you that, as he *does not acknowledge the legality of that*



*barbarous measure, you can return whenever you please*, as did Don Pedro Lisautte, banished likewise under the Government of Señor Victoria, having met with no obstacle on his entering the Republic." ( 72 )

NOTE.—The letter just transcribed of the Minister Zavala was conclusive. President Guerrero had not less right to annul a banishment than President Victoria had had to order it. If any distinction were to be made between the two proceedings, it is that President Victoria had trampled at once upon his own executive rights and duties, and on the judicial and legislative authorities, by which his order of banishment had been publicly and officially condemned, whilst President Guerrero had only restored things to their natural position. It is then unquestionably demonstrated that, from the 20th April, 1829, the date of the above ministerial communication, my banishment was declared null, by the Mexican Government itself, putting me expressly at liberty to repair to Mexico *whenever I pleased*. The Mexican Government, moreover, by stating that it did not acknowledge the legality of that *barbarous* measure, gave me implicitly and evidently a right to claim a full indemnity for all injuries to my *person* and *property*. The legality of this claim was now acknowledged by the Mexican Government itself, without any reference to the place of my birth or citizenship; and consequently, if not in virtue of public treaties or other special stipulations, certainly in virtue of the laws of the country, and the principles of universal justice, the Mexican Government had become, by its own confession, a debtor towards me; and by its declaring that I was at liberty to repair to Mexico *whenever I pleased*, it solemnly authorized me to go to Mexico and present my claim; so that, if a second unjust and illegal banishment prevented me from substantiating that claim, the same Government has contracted the obligation of atoning for both banishments, and of paying the damages of their consequences. But the continuation of this statement of facts and two public instruments of protest, will more fully and unobjectionably evince the exactness of this reasoning.

*Fifteenth of May, 1829.*—I wrote under the date of the 15th of May, to my friend General Santa Anna, a letter which was answered on the 31st October, as we shall see.

*Twenty-eighth of May, 1829.*—It being imprudent, at all events, to go again to Mexico, except sheltered under a powerful protection, and the time having arrived legally to receive the certificate of my naturalization as a citizen of the United States, I solicited and obtained it from the Marine Court of New-York, dated 28th of May, 1829. ( 73 )

*Twelfth of July, 1829.*—The preparations for my voyage were suspended on account of the intelligence received from Havana, of an imminent Spanish expedition against Mexico, confirmed by the following letter of the 12th of July, addressed to me from Vera Cruz, by a friend of mine; father Domingo Hernandez, a Mexican clergyman:

"I have arrived in this city on the 7th instant. I have spoken with General Santa Anna about your passport, and he has told me that he appreciates you, and that you *can come to this Republic*. I have observed to him that you have suffered for a just cause, and so the General has understood it. I start to-morrow for the capital, and shall take care to send you the passport by any vessel bound for the north. Adieu, my friend. The expedition from Havana is expected here every moment; but they will be disappointed, for the Mexicans are united to repel the invading enemy. All parties are at an end, all run to arms. This nation will offer the example of France; when attacked in her Revolution, she subdued Europe, &c.

"P. S. I can assure you that should you come before receiving a passport, you will be well received; but wait for it." ( 74 )

*First of October, 1829.*—The Spanish expedition, which arrived at Tampico towards the end of July, headed by General Isidro Barradas, had completely failed in September, owing both to the stupidity of that chief, and a treachery of Santa Anna of the most revolting nature. I now heard bad news from Mexico, touching the administration of Guerrero. He began to feel the consequences of his stubborn resistance to some suggestions of mine, which have nothing to do with this writing. The unusual silence of all my friends there increased my apprehensions. I then wrote on this subject a letter, dated the 1st of October, to Mr. Luigi Griggi, my countryman, in Tampico, from whose answer we shall see that my presentiments were not unfounded.

*Third of October, 1829.*—The long expected answer to my letter of the 13th March, from Mr. Esteva, came at last, dated the 3d October; in the following terms:

"After a considerable delay, I have received by the late mail your appreciable letter of the 13th March. I soon after spoke earnestly to the President, asking whether he thought it proper to give his orders for your return here, and His Excellency with much kindness has answered me that *there was no objection to your coming to the port, and on your making known thence your arrival, the order or document will be given for your advancing into the interior*. By the adjointed publication you will see the details of the triumph obtained over our oppressors," &c. ( 75 )

*Twenty-first of October, 1829.*—The conqueror of the Spaniards at Tampico honored me now with the following letter, dated Vera Cruz, 21st October:

"MY DEAR SIR AND ESTEEMED FRIEND: On one side the delay with which I have received your favor of the 15th May, and on the other, the complicated urgencies of the service which has occupied me in these latter days, are the motives for which I have not had until now the pleasure of answering you. I am sorry not to be able to do it as fully as I desire, because since my coming back from the campaign of Tampico, my health is very much impaired.

For the same motive I shall limit myself, for the present, to return you my most expressive thanks for the good opinion you have deigned to form of me, by attributing to my little knowledge services in behalf of my country, which I would be happy to be able to realize. [These thanks referred to his biography published by me in the Spanish "*Mercurio*," of New-York.] As to yourself, there can be *no objection to your return here*, and, consequently, should you wish to effect it, *you may come to this point*, whence the convenient orders shall be given, as soon as you inform me of your arrival, *for your going to the capital, or to any other place you may think proper*. Nothing occurs to me to communicate to you, about particular news. That which I desire is that we may have the prudence to gather the fruits we have sown by our recent *victory*, and that the nation may prosper as it should prosper, and as earnestly desires your true friend, who wishes you the most perfect health.

"ANTONIO LOPEZ DE SANTA ANNA." (76)

*Fifteenth of December, 1829.*—Signor Griggi, in answer to my letter of the 1st October, gave me under date of the 15th December, the following melancholy information :

"I am astonished at the silence of your friends of Mexico; but if you read daily the newspapers, you will see that for the present they have no time or possibility to attend to your solicitations. The Government is on the *eve of a crisis* difficult to express, and many changes are anticipated for the next year. Zavala is no longer Minister of the Treasury; and Filisola is nothing. Those who play a role to-day are not certain to play the same to-morrow, and so all things go. You would do better to witness at a distance the development of these affairs." (77)

*First of January, 1830.*—Guerrero was a good man, but a chief proper only for the ancient patriarchal times. As brave in the field as inept in the cabinet, he had many and powerful enemies, less for his *Yorkinism* and his Indian blood and color, than for his incapacity of governing. In some *confidential* letters to him, which remained unanswered, I had foreseen the catastrophe. . . . Amongst so many proofs of weakness, he thought to ingratiate himself with the *Escoceses*, by causing the Minister Poinsett to be recalled, as happened in October, 1829; and then, after a short time, I was honored in New-York with a visit from that gentleman, who certainly could not fail to regard me as a true and tried friend of his country. A worse political fault committed by Guerrero was not to have dissolved, immediately after the tragi-comedy of Tampico was over, the army of reserve encamped in Xalapa, under the command of the Vice President Bustamante, the champion of aristocracy and centralism. This Señor revolted in the beginning of December, 1829, against Guerrero, who fled home to the South; and without recalling Pedraza, the President constitutionally elected by the State Legislatures, took himself the helm of the Union, as a Vice

President in the *absence* of the President. He entered upon his usurped functions on the 1st of January, 1830, and placed the famous Lucas Alaman at the head of the State Department.

*Third of February, 1830.*—Ignorant of these events, I had written to President Guerrero, under the date of the 1st January, an official note, stating that notwithstanding the permission he had granted to me through Señores Zavala y Esteva to return to Mexico, I wanted a passport, &c. (78) But this letter fell into the hands of Bustamante, and was answered, under date of 3d February, by Alaman, in the following terms:

"By your letter of the 1st of January of this year, His Excellency the Vice President has been informed of the solicitation to which it refers, about the corresponding orders to be delivered to the Consul of the Republic in your city, that he may expedite to you the correlative passport to enable you to return to Mexico, without exposing yourself to the inconveniences which you indicate, should you effect your voyage without being protected by said document, but solely in virtue of the communications of Messrs. Santa Anna and Esteva [he did not mention that of the Minister Zavala]; and in answer to this, His Excellency directs me to inform you that *he does not think it convenient, for the present, to accede to the request expressed in the aforesaid letter.*

"God and Liberty.

"ALAMAN." (79)

*Tenth of March, 1830.*—After my banishment having been officially annulled by President Guerrero, as *illegal* and *barbarous*, through a ministerial communication, the renewal of it without any new cause or pretext whatever, was evidently a new abuse of power on the part of the Mexican Vice President, more scandalous perhaps than that which had dishonored the presidency of Victoria; and, as the Constitution of 1824 was still in vigor and untouched, it is clear that the Minister Alaman had incurred the same responsibility as Camacho. I replied to his *official* note a letter dated the 10th March, rather too unceremonious (80); but how could I help it?

*Fourteenth of March, 1830.*—The report had been spread in Mexico by some of my political antagonists, that I was in Mexico, one of the editors of the "El Redactor," a Spanish paper in New-York, avowedly devoted to the defence of the *rights* of Ferdinand VII to the re-conquest of his American Colonies. I contradicted such a rumor, in the "Mercurio," another Spanish paper in the same city, but neutral, as injurious to my liberal principles, and to my attachment to the independence of America formerly Spanish; for which I was complimented by the Mexican gentleman Señor Tiburcio Cañas, with the following letter, dated 14th March:

"I have received the "Mercurio," of the 23d of January, in which you evince your *constant manner of thinking*; no other conduct could be expected from a man, who, like you, has *sacrificed*

his own interests, and has suffered long banishments, in indefatigably supporting the *liberty of all nations*; proofs of so great importance have sufficiently justified your virtues in the eyes of all those who reflect," &c. (81)

*Fifth of April, 1830.*—The editors of the "El Redactor," however, four in number, that is, a Señor Carrion with two sons and a Señor Granja, took offence at my declaration, and nobly had recourse to insulting personalities, charging me with the desire of ingratiating myself with the Mexican Government, which they called "a vile rabble of Mexican *mandarines*," and with my having "been known to both worlds, and persecuted every where for my revolutionary principles." Hence a war arose between that quadruple alliance and myself, and I presented them with a pamphlet against all Spanish pretensions. (\*) No Mexican ever spoke in favor of the liberties of his own country, and of the honor of her leaders, with more courage or zeal; for which I received from General Basadre, who was at that period in New-York, the following request, dated 5th April:

"MY DISTINGUISHED AND ESTEEMED FRIEND:—I consider it very important to disseminate in my country the luminous ideas you have displayed in your 'Reply to the Redactor;' and for that purpose permit me to ask of you three or four copies of it. Could you favor me likewise with a copy of your work on Panama, you would greatly oblige your very devoted friend and servant,

"J. IGNACIO DE BASSADRE." (82)

And this my devoted friend and servant, is the same Basadre, who, in quality of "hombre bueno" of the poet Heredia, before the Alcalde Elizalde, had on the 7th August, 1826, proved to be my enemy; and of whom Senator Alpuche, in his "Second Cry against the Inhumanity of the Government," of the 9th July, of that year, made a portrait not very flattering.

*Ninth of June, 1830.*—Señores Carrion and Granja would not cease fighting; but being at a loss for want of weapons, asked in their paper for informations from some "good soul," to clear up their doubts about my person. A "good soul," Mr. A. Martino, then appeared, without my knowledge, in the Daily Advertiser, of the 9th June, 1830, and gave the noble quartetto the following information:

"TO THE EDITORS OF THE REDACTOR:

"GENTLEMEN: Informed by your paper of the 20th May last, that you desire from 'alguna buena alma' (some good soul) any communication which might clear up *your doubts* about Mr. O. de A. Santangelo, I hasten to inform you, that this gentleman belongs to one of the most distinguished families of Naples, my native country; that his father Francis de Attellis, Marquis de Sant'Angelo, was one of the most illustrious literati of Italy; that he himself has constantly been respected as gifted with uncommon literary, political and military talents; that in 1815, when the reign of Murat was overthrown in

Naples, he retired from service, preserving his military rank and uniform, and deserved at the bar public esteem; so that I went myself to consult him, several times at his house, about a suit I proposed to begin for recovering a considerable property; that his latest emigration from Naples in 1821, has been caused by the downfall of the constitutional system in that country; that he was there the patriot most feared by the absolutists, on account of his having proposed, in the 'Alta Vendita, of Carbonari,' the expulsion of the Bourbonic dynasty, the establishment of a Democratic Republic, and the proclamation of the liberty of all Italy. [This is not exact; I proposed the reunion of all Italy in a Constitutional Monarchy, under the Bourbons of Naples.] That always 'restless' (inquieta), as you say, for the cause of mankind, but never versatile in his honorable purpose, he was one of the Italian refugees in Catalonia, who in 1822 took up arms, under the command of Col. Olini, as a simple volunteer, notwithstanding his advanced age, in defence of the Spanish Constitution; that sheltered since six years in America, and connected afterwards in marriage with a respectable lady of Philadelphia, has constantly been as cherished by his new family, as esteemed by his friends, pupils and resident countrymen, all ready, I presume, to confute, even in a legal way, any slanderous attempt against his private and public virtues; that, as a gentleman, an officer, a patriot, and a philosopher, he cannot fail to honor both his native and adopted country; and that his misfortunes ought to excite the sympathy, and the utmost respect of all honest and virtuous men, whatever be their political opinions. I flatter myself of having sufficiently dispersed your *doubts* on this subject, although it be somewhat strange that your attacks upon Sant' Angelo have no better ground than *doubts*.

"Please now, gentlemen, to clear up mine, and those of the public, about yourselves. Are you citizens or strangers? Refugees or adventurers? Free or servile? Is your war against Sant' Angelo, that of ignorance against knowledge, of foolishness against wisdom, of slavery against freedom, of Erostratus against the temple of Diana, of the frog of the fable against Jupiter, or of fanaticism against civilization?"

I am, in the mean time, respectfully yours,

A. MARTINO." (83)

*Sixteenth of September, 1830.*—After the downfall of President Guerrero, many respectable Mexicans repaired to New-York, and all of them constantly honored me with their visits, friendship and confidence. A proof of this is the following invitation:

"L. de Zavala and J. A. Mexia, request the honor of your company to the banquet they have prepared to celebrate the *anniversary of the Mexican Independence*, at the Washington Hall, on the 16th instant, at 4 o'clock, P. M.

SEÑOR MARQUIS DE SANTANGELO." (84)

*January, 1831.*—The administration of the Vice President Bus-

tamante produced nothing but conspiracies, revolts and executions, all over the Republic. A victory gained in Chilpancingo, by Gen. Bravo, on the beginning of January, 1831, over the disaffected, had but increased their number. It was thought to be indispensable to destroy at once, by all means, the idol of the mass, Gen. Guerrero, to suppress the so called Rebellion; and towards the end of the same month of January, that brave man, without whose sword no independence would ever have been established in New Spain, a victim of the most hideous treachery, was shot. Universal execration now pronounced itself against Bustamante and his ministry. Hence the project of Gen. Santa Anna to put them all down, and prepare his own elevation to the presidency. This paragraph is but an introduction to the statement of those facts, of which my "second" banishment from Mexico, by order of Santa Anna himself, was the result.

*March, 1831.*—I was favored in March 1831, with the first volume of a work published by Señor Lorenzo de Zavala, entitled: "Essay on the Revolutions of Mexico, from 1808 to 1830;" and I found in it from page 356 to 359, a long tale concerning my banishment from Mexico, from which I have made this short extract: ( 85 )

"On the 1st of July (1826), the Governor of the Federal District, Don Francisco Molinos del Campo, received an order, signed by the Secretary of State, Don Sebastian Camacho, to cause O. de A. Santangelo to go, under an escort of cavalry, to Vera Cruz, and there to embark for foreign parts. The extraordinary powers had already been withdrawn from the President, and there was no law, no constitutional provision, empowering the Executive to expel foreigners *ad libitum*. But writers were not wanting, who, on the absurd maxim, destructive of all liberty, of 'the Government having the right of doing every thing that the Constitution does not forbid,' granted the President the *unbounded* authority of expelling foreigners. Of this number were Don José Maria Tornel, Don Andres Quintana, and the editors of the 'Sun,' although on this very topic I had inserted in those days in the same periodical, an article against that imaginary right of the President, and in which I declared that the same 'was always asleep, and only awoke to do mischief.' Don Juan de Dios Cañedo, Don J. M. Alpuche, Don A. J. Valdes, Don Pablo Villavicencio, Don Ramon Ceruti, and others, wrote severely against the arbitrary act. The Government, however, carried the measure into effect; and the unfortunate Santangelo, with a son eighteen years old, were expelled from the republic with violence, and without resource. On their going to the coast, in a season as hot as it was unhealthy, such as the month of August, young Santangelo was attacked by the yellow fever, and that disconsolate parent had to witness the death of his son on the vessel which was conveying them to Philadelphia. Sad reward of his zeal for liberty!" &c.

Thus history revenges oppressed innocence, and covers tyranny with eternal opprobrium.

*Fifth of April, 1831.*—A treaty of amity, commerce and navigation, was signed on the 5th April, 1831, in Mexico, by Mr. A. Butler, on the part of the United States, and the Ministers Lucas Alaman and Raphael Mangino, on the part of Mexico, to be ratified, and the ratifications to be exchanged in Washington, within the term of one year.

NOTE.—In this treaty no *sympathetic* privileges were granted by Mexico to her *sister Republics of Central and Southern America*. On the contrary, the most perfect equality and reciprocity were adopted as the “basis of the agreement,” and the United States were placed, towards Mexico, on the footing of the most favored nations *in all respects*. When we remember the obstinacy of the Mexican Government in its design of granting those privileges, the vigorous and fruitless oppositions from Mr. Poinsett, and the force of my arguments in favor of the United States, published at the very period when the debate between that Minister and the Mexican negotiators was tending more and more to a rupture, as we have seen in this statement of facts, at the date of the 13th June, 1826, it will appear evident, that I was *banished* for having contributed efficiently to the settlement of that vital question, and advocated a measure which was at last acknowledged and adopted by the Mexican Government itself, as just and convenient to the interests of its country. From the result of my claim on it, we will see what thanks I shall have to return both to Mexico and the United States.

But the provision of the treaty, on which my claim chiefly rests, is the following:

“ART. XIV. Both the contracting parties promise and engage to give their special protection to the *persons and property* of the citizens of each other of *all occupation*, who may be in their territories, subject to the jurisdiction of the one or of the other, *transient or dwelling therein*; leaving *open and free to them the tribunals of justice for their judicial recourse*, on the same terms which are usual and customary with the *natives* or citizens of the country in which they may be; for which they may employ, *in defence of their rights*, such advocates, solicitors, attorneys, agents and factors as *they may judge proper*, in all their trials at law; and the citizens of either party, or their agents, shall enjoy in every respect, the same rights and privileges, either in *prosecuting or defending* their rights of *person or of property*, as the citizens of the country where the cause may be tried.” ( \* )

*Ninth of April, 1831.*—General Santa Anna had hitherto been extremely neglectful in his correspondence with me. The time had now arrived in which the execution of his ambitious plans required the display of all his energies; and, amongst other things, he thought convenient to recall himself to my memory, to have me ready for some further exertions in his behalf. He wrote me, then, the following introductory letter:



"MANGA DE CLABO, April 9th, 1831.

"SEÑOR O. DE A. SANTANGELO:

"MY ESTEEMED FRIEND: I have before me your valued letters of the 1st January, 1st February, 8th April, 1st May, of past year, and that of the 5th February last, which, on account of my bad health, and for want of an amanuensis in this solitary place, I have deprived myself of the satisfaction of answering in proper time; for which you will have the goodness to excuse me. I remain apprized of the refusal to the solicitation you made to the President, *being extremely sorry for its bad success*; for you know *my affection to your person, and the interest I take in your welfare*. In regard to my country, I cannot tell you any thing, because it is now sixteen months since I have abandoned public affairs and retired to this farm, which is my own property, where I desire nothing but the peace and the welfare of the country, and my own tranquillity. I never enjoyed more satisfaction than during the time of my retirement, in the bosom of my adored family. I enjoy the necessary comforts of life, and LOOK WITH HORROR UPON HIGH STATIONS; so it is that in this corner I am nothing else than a spectator of what is passing in the world. I hope you are always well, relying always on my best wishes, and command me in all that you deem to be useful, as your *true friend* and assured servant, who kisses your hands.

"A. L. DE SANTA ANNA." (86)

In this letter, my *true friend* acknowledged the receipt of five letters of mine; but he did not answer them. He did not acknowledge the publication I had made of his biography, and of a multitude of long, elaborate, and costly articles on *his rights* to Mexican gratitude and consideration, nor of my pamphlet against the "El Redactor," wholly calculated to prepare, at home and abroad, the opinion of the world in his favor. Neither did he answer my repeated solicitations for his interference in my affair with Dick; nor had I ever had from him a word of condolence for the fate of my son, of congratulation for my second marriage, or of interest for my claim on the Mexican Government, for a redress to so many sufferings and losses it had so unjustly caused to me. This was his system—never to acknowledge an obligation or a debt, and never take the least interest in what did not relate to himself; and, unhappily, I did not know him well, nor had I ever had a particular motive to study his character or doubt his intentions.

*Fifteenth of May, 1831.*—Another *true* and *good* friend, the famous Basadre, of whom I have made already a sufficiently honorable mention, and to whom I had addressed a letter of introduction in favor of an English gentleman, seized this opportunity to write me an epistle extremely affectionate, dated 15th May, 1831, deploring the fate of Guerrero, and stating that "the Mexican horizon was dark;" that the candidates for the next presidency were Santa

Anna and Teran (who about this time committed suicide), and that General Facio was to be the Vice President, &c. ( 87 )

*Twentieth of July, 1831.*—A new and striking proof of my continuing to possess the friendship and confidence of the Mexicans, will appear, in the eyes of all those who know their notable personages and feats, in the following letter from General Mexia, on his having returned to Mexico :

“ MEXICO, *July 20th, 1831.*

“ SENOR MARQUIS DE SANTANGELO :—

“ MOST ESTEEMED FRIEND : With your favor of the 4th ultimo, I received the prospectus of your new establishment [that of a Foreign College], and after having had it inserted in the periodicals of the capital, I have recommended it to Zacatecas and Guadalajara, in order that it might be republished in those papers. You know that you have in me a friend whom you can and *must* use with confidence in whatever you please, certain of my efficacy in serving you. My family enjoys good health ; my rheumatisms are getting much better ; and Mr. Tosso, strong and vigorous as ever, salutes you. The bearer of the present is my friend Colonel Almonte [afterwards the fellow-prisoner of Santa Anna in Texas], who is accompanying Señor Cañedo as secretary of the extraordinary mission they have been trusted with to the Republics of South America. This friend is a speaking epistle, and will inform you minutely of the state of the country, &c.



“ JOSE ANTONIO MEXIA.” ( 88 )

*Eleventh of October, 1831.*—The election of the new President was to take place towards the end of 1832, and the elected was to enter into office on the 1st of April, 1833 ; but Santa Anna, after the death of his first rival, General Teran, had now to fear the opposition of three other candidates : General Bravo, the grand commander of the *Escoceses* ; Pedraza, illegally supplanted by poor Guerrero ; and, above all, Bustamante himself, who being actually Vice President, in the temporary exercise of the presidential functions, could be legally appointed President for the next term, and whose powerful influence, whilst at the head of the Union, would have very likely defeated all other pretenders. To resort, then, to arms against Bustamante, and to put the press early in action in his favor, behold his plan. Accordingly, whilst preparing for war, he, who LOOKED WITH HORROR UPON HIGH STATIONS, wrote to me the following masterpiece of ambition, impudence and imbecility :

“ VERA CRUZ, *October 11th, 1831.*

“ SENOR DE A. SANTANGELO :—

“ MY ESTEEMED FRIEND : I have the pleasure to answer your favor of the 5th ultimo, by which I perceive that my letter of the 9th April last, came to hand. I have received the prospectus of the “ Foreign College ” you contemplate to establish, which not only

meets with my entire approbation, but, considering your talents and uncommon acquirements, I congratulate you on employing them in a manner so generally useful, and personally honorable. I thank you cordially for the news and observations you have had the kindness to communicate to me, and both make me desire the *continuation of your esteemed epistles*. Retired as I am, on my farm, and there exclusively devoted to the cultivation and improvement of my small estate, I cannot reply, as I desire, to the news with which you have favored me. But, even in that retirement, and though separated from the arena of politics, I could never view with indifference any discredit thrown on my own country, nor any thing which might, in the smallest degree, possess that tendency. We enjoy at present peace and tranquillity, and I do not know of any other question of public interest now in agitation, than the *approaching elections of President and Vice President*. When that period shall arrive, should I obtain a majority of suffrages, *I am ready to accept the honor*, and to sacrifice, for the benefit of the nation, my repose and the charms of private life. My fixed system is *to be called (ser llamado)*, resembling in this a MODEST MAID, who rather expects to be desired, than to show *herself to be desiring*. I think that my position justifies me in this respect. Nevertheless, as what is written in a foreign country has much influence at home, especially among us, in your city I think it proper to make a great step on this subject; and by fixing the true aspect, in which such or such services should be regarded as respects the *various candidates*, one could undoubtedly contribute to fix here public opinion, which is at present extremely *wavering and uncertain*. Of course this is the peculiar province of  THE FRIENDS OF MEXICO;  and as well by this title as on account of the acquirements and instruction you possess, I know of no one better qualified than YOURSELF to execute such a *benevolent* undertaking. As to the rest, you are able to judge how far it would be proper *to give importance to this question* in one or more journals of the country; all of which I leave with pleasure to your own discretion.—In the mean time it only remains for me to wish you success in your new enterprise. *I regret I have no sons to send you*; but be sure that, on my part, I will not fail to employ all my influence with my friends to insure patronage to your useful and well projected establishment, of the progress of which I hope you will favor me from time to time with information, which will always give satisfaction to your *true friend* and servant, who kisses your hands.

“ANTONIO LOPEZ DE SANTA ANNA.” (89)

This letter evinced in Santa Anna, besides a disordered ambition, whose effects could be good or bad, an absolute want of *bon sens* and modesty; and, by his supposing that I was unable to understand his *witty* language, my self-love was somewhat piqued. Nevertheless, the necessity in which I was to go to Mexico, and settle my claim

on that Government, and the hope that, on his reaching power, he would faithfully serve the good cause, gave me courage enough to go on in lending my assistance to that Señor.

*Twenty-third of January, 1832.*—On my reflecting upon the little sincerity of Santa Anna, and the probability of his opposing hereafter my return to Mexico, or even of his becoming my enemy, should he suspect that I would ask there his protection and interference in favor of a pecuniary redress from that Government, which could not perhaps be in his *political* views to grant, I resolved never to mention again to him or others that intention, but insist for the permission to go to Mexico, merely “to establish there a lyceum for the education of youth.” In fact, such an establishment had been proposed to me and earnestly urged upon by all the notable Mexicans who had visited my flourishing boarding-school in New-York. Under this view I continued afterwards soliciting a passport for Mexico; and under the same view I returned to the letter of the “MODEST MAID,” of the 11th October, an answer dated the 23d January, 1832, of which he speaks in a subsequent letter.

*Twenty-second of February, 1832.*—The treaty concluded between the United States and Mexico, on the 5th April, 1831, was violated before its ratification by a decree of the Mexican Congress, dated 22d February, 1832, thus conceived:

“It is among the faculties of the Supreme Government to expedite passports and expel from the territory of the republic every foreigner not naturalized, whose permanence in it said Government may qualify as prejudicial to public order, even when the foreigner had introduced and established himself in it conformably with the rules prescribed by the laws.” (90)

NOTE.—It is useless to observe that, from this savage decree the American citizens, protected by the article xiv of the treaty, were not excepted. The wise Mexican lawgivers thought, perhaps, that the treaty was not *obligatory* until after the exchange of its ratifications. At all events the fact does not speak much in favor of Mexican good faith, inasmuch as the term prefixed for the ratification was very nearly at hand. We shall make other important remarks on this vital subject, when we shall have to mention the ratification in question.

*Twenty-third of March, 1832.*—By this time the *pronunciamiento* of Santa Anna had taken place, and his war against Bustamante had commenced. Hence the long pathetic-apologetico-historico-warlike communication to me, as follows:

“VERA CRUZ, *March 23d, 1832.*

“SEÑOR O. DE A. SANTANGELO:

“MY VERY ESTEEMED FRIEND: I have received, with the greatest pleasure, your attentive and kind letter of the 23d January last, which has given me the utmost satisfaction, as well on account of the patriotic ideas contained in it, as of the obliging expressions

of your estimable friendship. It has hitherto been impossible for me to answer it; and although *in this very moment many occupations surround me on account of circumstances*, I wish not to delay the pleasure of writing to you to give you an idea of them.—Two years had elapsed since the nation was laboring under the ignominious yoke imposed on it by the Ministry, which was indebted to a revolution, executed arms in hand, for its elevation, and whose members, far from having ever rendered any service to their country, had on the contrary, opposed its interests, and given, by their conduct, unequivocal proofs of their design to subvert the established order, and raise on its ruins a system diametrically contrary to the liberal one, adopted with the universal approbation of the people. They spared no means. The gold of the treasury was spread with profusion: and not only did they perpetrate enormous crimes, but even left unpunished those committed by other functionaries, who were of their party.

“All being tired of this series of abuses, and seeing liberty every day more and more in danger, the Constitution outraged, and the laws without effect, *except only when and how their execution was convenient to the Ministry* and its agents, a general desire reigned to see it dismissed, and replaced by another more worthy of the confidence of the people, and the nation again placed in the enjoyment of her true tranquillity, and of all her dearest and imprescriptible rights.

“But how to destroy the terror inspired by this sanguinary administration? How express frank and clear opinions without fear? Could the State Legislatures and principal functionaries, who are creatures of *the power which it is now question to overthrow*, be the faithful interpreters of their fellow-citizens, whose will is directly opposed to the private interests of the former? Hence it was that the combustibles were slowly and secretly accumulating, which *were to cause a great conflagration*, had not *proper means*, suggested by *justice and prudence*, been resorted to in time.

“All this was represented to me by the private communications which I received, while retired in the country, from respectable individuals interested in good order, and from various States, through persons delegated to address me for this purpose; and as I had protested that only in the case of a foreign invasion, or of *an attack upon the system and liberty of the Republic*, would I again have drawn the sword, this latter case having occurred, it was indispensable for me to comply with my protestation, inasmuch as the garrisons of this place and Ulua, who had already written a petition to the Executive, soliciting the removal of the Ministry, urged me to give it a proper course, and to interpose the little influence which my good personal friendship with the President and some of the Ministers gave me.

“I did so; but what was the answer given to my *humble* petition and interference? Be astonished, my friend! It was the same as in

a like case could have been rendered by the greatest despot! Noisy warlike measures, executive orders for the assault of this place, and the extermination of its principal chief; the most unheard of seduction to attract to their party, at any price, every one that could favor their designs; the most awful plans imaginable; calumnies, sarcasms, and falsehoods, decrees violently drawn from Congress, either for the closing of the port, or to cause the revenues of the custom-house to be collected in an illegal manner, as paid in the capital, &c.

"After so many efforts, the Ministry was able to expedite a force which scarcely consisted of two thousand men, and which came to post itself at about six leagues from this place; and I went with a small division to their very rear guard, and took a rich convoy of money, provisions and effects, and brought with me, on my return here, three hundred prisoners, who incorporated themselves in my ranks.

"This occurrence and the continual losses produced to the enemy by desertion and sickness, obliged them to break up their camp at my first summons, and retire. They were not yet far when I made a second sally from the place, with a small force and no artillery; and forcing my march, I came in contact with them, and a skirmish ensued, in which, without the triumph being said to have been gained by either party, the slaughter was considerable; but, for us, it has only produced the effect of delaying the termination of the actual dispute; for our loss has been completely repaired, and the enthusiasm which reigns is so great and general that I never saw the like since the memorable epoch of our independence. In this moment the Ministerial troops occupy the point of Vergara, in sight of this city, and at one league from its front, and certainly they could not have better complied with our wishes, for it is there that they will soon be routed.

"In the mean time, I enjoy the satisfaction of hearing that, besides the manifestations made by the legislatures of Zacatecas, Ialisco and Tamaulipas to accede to the petition of this garrison, that of the port of Tampico has also pronounced itself in its favor, together with its civil and *ecclesiastic* authorities, in virtue of which the entrance of money through that important point, has been shut to the Ministry, and this was at present its greatest support. In the Federal city the journals of the Opposition expatiate with the greatest freedom, and public spirit strengthens in an indescribable manner throughout the whole Republic.

"In view of this, I hope that in my next I will have the pleasure of informing you of the complete triumph of *reason* and *justice* [Molière's *Tartuffe* could not speak better] over the most unbounded despotism, and to be able to assure you that our *happy* country marches on the road traced out to it by its Constitution and fundamental laws, in perfect tranquillity and good order. In the mean time, be so kind as to *show the contents of the present to all our friends*, for their satisfaction. You will be persuaded that my pre-

sent occupations do not allow me the facility of procuring for you the biographies which you ask [documents for a "Contemporary History of Mexico," I am compiling]; but I will not fail to remember them. As to the permission which you solicit, to return to this country and establish in it a college, *I shall opportunely answer you* [this reserve was but the precursor of a treachery]; for I consider this idea to be extremely useful, especially if the efforts of the professors of both sexes, whom you offer to bring with you, will be united under your good direction. Take care of yourself, my good friend, and believe me truly to wish you the greatest happiness, and I kiss your hands.

"ANTONIO LOPEZ DE SANTA ANNA." ( 91 )

*Fifth of April, 1832.*—The treaty of amity, commerce and navigation, between the United States and Mexico, concluded on the 5th April, 1831, was ratified on the 5th April, 1832. Consequently, the decree of the Mexican Congress, of the 22d February, 1832, which had violated the treaty *concluded*, was derogated by the treaty *ratified*. That decree "empowered the Mexican Government to expel *ad libitum* all foreigners not naturalized, although legally introduced and *established* in the country;" and the article xiv of the *ratified* treaty placed, on the contrary, the *persons* and *property* of American citizens in Mexico, of *all occupations*, on the same footing as the native, "leaving open and free to them the tribunals of justice, for their judicial recourse, either in *prosecuting* or *defending* their rights of *person* and *property*," without the least exception as to the liberty of the press, or political opinions.

In spite of this public stipulation, I was afterwards, in June, 1835, banished a second time from Mexico, in virtue of another Presidential *lettre de cachet* from the MODEST MAID, and, as we shall see, entirely ruined.

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## MY SECOND BANISHMENT.

*July, 1832.*—The ratification of the treaty of the 5th April, 1831, had now destroyed all my apprehensions about Mexican despotism. I had, from the very Constitution and laws of the country, the most indisputable right to the redress of wrongs of the most distressing nature. My first banishment had been formally acknowledged as illegal and unjust, first by the judicial and legislative powers, and the whole nation, and then by the *Executive itself*, under the administration of President Guerrero. As long as the banishment lasted, far from complaining of it to my own Government, or arraigning the Mexican Government or nation before the public, I only defended the Mexican rights and honor against the pretensions of Spain, and the curses of Spanish writers. I could therefore proceed to Mexico with the most sanguine expectations. New letters from Santa Anna, relating new triumphs, and advising me to go to New-

Orleans, there wait for the final overthrow of the *usurper*, and advocate, in the mean time, the liberal cause, and his rights to the presidency, in some French paper, as the English was not understood at all in that Republic, determined now my departure. I then gave up my flourishing boarding-school; and as the establishment of a lyceum in Mexico was to be the ostensible object of my second visit to that country, I brought with me, besides my personal equipage, fifteen large boxes filled with books, in all branches of knowledge and in several languages, and a rich chemical apparatus, mathematical and astronomical instruments, models for drawing, splendid maps, choice music for piano and guitar, a costly piano, &c., the whole amounting to nearly \$5,000, the fruit of six years literary labors; and with a passport from the State Department of Washington, countersigned by the Mexican Consul in New-York, Mr. Treat, for myself, my wife, a chamber-maid, and a professor of chemistry and botany, whom I had engaged for the contemplated lyceum, I landed in July, 1832, in New-Orleans.

*Fourth of October, 1832.*—The cholera morbus soon made its appearance in that city, together with the yellow fever, which ravages it annually in the summer. Our position became now as dangerous as our living was expensive. Informed that my friend Zavala was at that period in Vera Cruz, I wrote to him in the beginning of September, soliciting some news about the situation of Santa Anna, and requesting him to inquire from the latter when I could start for a Mexican port. To this Señor Zavala answered, under date of the 4th October:

"I have received your letter of September last, and am glad that nothing bad has happened to you, in the midst of the ocean of infirmities which surround you. A man like you must neither die of the cholera, the yellow fever, nor of any of those events which come to kill men before their time. General Santa Anna is at present in the vicinity of Puebla, with three thousand five hundred men, and it is probable that he will occupy that city within four days. Although Moctezuma has experienced a trifling defeat near San Miguel Del Grande, he has restored his forces, and has to-day upwards of six thousand men to oppose to Bustamante, who has only three thousand. Such is the state of things, of which we do not know what will be the bloody development; but the cause of the people will probably triumph. Every day the object of the aristocrats becomes more palpable, and things are made known. This is a great advantage for the Mexicans. I have written to General Santa Anna about your return; and as soon as I shall have an answer, I will communicate it to you; but I do not believe that there will be any obstacle to your disembarking. Here all foreigners enter. Why should not you, being a liberal and learned stranger?" &c. (92)

*Ninth of October, 1832.*—The above letter of Zavala, of the 4th October, had not yet come to hand, when, on the 9th, I published on the French part of the "Bee," of New-Orleans, under the signature



of X. Y. Z., a long and elaborate biography of Santa Anna, (\*) which was republished in all the anti-ministerial papers of the Mexican Union, concluding thus: "*Dans un autre article j'établirai un parallèle raisonné entre les Généraux Santa Anna et Bustamante, sous le rapport de la légitimité de leurs entreprises respectives.*" My hero could not, therefore, be ignorant of it, and he must have found it well calculated to captivate in his behalf the general opinion of his nation. It is useless to remark, that I wrote it under the impression of serving the right cause of the Mexicans, and of a man, in whose favor I was *bona fide* prepossessed. I was pleased to give him a new proof of consistency and faithful friendship. He was still struggling against a powerful foe; success was uncertain; but I thought that in his trying situation, my efforts in procuring for him a more vigorous and extensive popularity among his countrymen, ought to have excited some sense of gratitude in his heart. But had he a heart? *Nous le verrons.*

*Twenty-fifth of October, 1832.*—Santa Anna would not appear to fight Bustamante, in order to place himself immediately in his stead. He was too *modest a maid* for that. His avowed design was to restore Pedraza to the presidency, to which the majority of the State Legislatures had called him, and which was given to Guerrero by the people; because, had Bustamante remained, as the representative of Guerrero, acting as President until the expiration of the current term, Pedraza could have been elected for the next, and thus defeat his hopes. Pedraza did not evince on this occasion much acuteness of mind, in acceding to this plan, and went to wait in New-Orleans for a call. Whilst he was there, I wrote him a note, dated 25th of October, 1832, entreating him to tell me, with the frankness of a gentleman, "whether on his reaching the presidency, I could return to Mexico without apprehending any opposition on his part;" a question rather embarrassing for one of the Ministers who had banished me in 1826. To this he answered, under the same date, the following note, of which I have never been able to understand the true meaning about what he says of Europe:

"SEÑOR HORACIO DE ATTELLIS SANTANGELO: Manuel Gomez Pedraza, in answer to the question proposed to him this day by Mr. Santangelo, says with the frankness desired by him, that he *does not think there exists at present the motives which in 1826 determined the Government of Mexico to cause him to leave that Republic*; because, if the "Four Discussions of the Congress of Panama" could under those circumstances be prejudicial to the interests of the country, at present the situation of Europe has changed its politics towards America. He remains Mr. Santangelo's servant, and kisses his hands.

MANUEL GOMEZ PEDRAZA. (93)

"NEW-ORLEANS, *October 25th 1832.*"

NOTA.—These few lines of Señor Pedraza offer important con-

siderations: First, that my "Congress of Panama" was *the only* cause of my banishment; secondly, that I was to be treated at most as an involuntary performer of an imprudent act, and by no means as a wilful culprit; thirdly, that my removal from Mexico, if truly indispensable, ought to have been executed with all the regard due to unfortunate innocence, and in no wise as the punishment of a crime. The epithet *sospechoso*, was then evidently a gratuitous injury. The confession of these truths comes now from one of the very ministry by whom that epithet was applied, and that banishment decreed and executed, against a judicial and legislative absolutism, and in open violation both of the letter and the sense of the fundamental code of the country. And when we reflect that such banishment was not only inflicted with all the characteristics of a true punishment, but even accompanied by the most outrageous insults and calumnies from the Government itself, what should the world think of a judge, American, Mexican, or Chinese, who would not acknowledge my right to a redress proportionate to the offence?

At all events the note of Señor Pedraza gave me at once a better idea, if not of his mind, at least of his heart, and the consoling security that, in case of my reappearing on the Mexican shores, under his presidency, I had to apprehend no disagreeable mischance there. My departure now solely depended on the final result of Santa Anna's warlike enterprise.

*Nineteenth of November, 1832.*—The "Parallèle Raisonné" between Santa Anna and Bustamante, which I had promised in the biography of the former, appeared on the "Bee," of the 19th of November, and was continued on that of the 21st, under the same signature, X. Y. Z. (\*) It does not belong to me to give an adequate idea of that production. Suffice it to say that it was nothing less than a complete historical recapitulation of all the facts of both those champions, since the first opening of the revolutionary scene in New-Spain; but the efforts which I was obliged to make to have the balance always turning in favor of *my friend*, without appearing before the world to be either a liar or a flatterer, were beyond description; and Santa Anna had therein another luminous proof that no Mexican was or ever could be more devoted to him than myself.

*Twenty-third of December, 1832.*—The contending warriors Bustamante and Santa Anna came at last to an arrangement, on the 23d December, signed in a village near Puebla, called "Zavaleta," by General Antonio Gaona, General Mariano Arista, and Colonel Lino Acorta, on the part of the former, and Generals Juan Pablo Anaya, Gabriel Valencia and Ignacio Basadre, on the part of the latter. By the articles 1st to 6th of that Convention, both parties agreed upon the continuation of the *Federal* system; a full amnesty to all parties; new elections of members of State Legislatures and Congress; their instalment for the 13th February, 1833; the election of the President and Vice President for the 1st March, all over the Union; the returns to be unsealed on the 25th, by Congress in

Mexico; and Pedraza to be in the mean time the President until the 1st April, when he was to yield his seat to the new comer. The rest of the Convention contained but the seeds of new civil wars.

*January, 1833.*—This being the time of the presidential elections, I thought it to be my duty to exert myself in favor of the *modest maid*. I then published in two numbers of the “Bee,” in the beginning of January, 1833, although still unacquainted with the “Convention of Zavaleta,” of the 23d December, a profoundly studied dissertation, entitled: “*Elections Mexicaines*” (\*), in which, after having shown in a few words why no person should be preferred to Santa Anna for the office of President, I opened a discussion of a more serious nature on this thesis: . . . . . “But let Santa Anna, or Minerva herself, be the new Mexican President, he will do neither more nor better than his predecessors, should he be condemned to govern under the actual Constitution of the country, which has in its bosom the most prolific seeds of its own destruction.” I then pointed out both those seeds, and the means, to which a chief in possession of the most unbounded national confidence, as Santa Anna was, could and ought to resort. I threw pearls before swine; but at all events, I thought to have rendered a great service both to Santa Anna and the Mexican Nation.

*February, 1833.*—A copy of the “Convention of Zavaleta” came now to hand, with the news that the *Libertador* Santa Anna had retired, soon after having ratified it, to his farm Manga-de-Clabo, three leagues from Vera Cruz; and the *Usurpador* Bustamante had left Pedraza the presidency for the three months balance of its quadriennial term. But, on my perceiving the poisonous defects of that military document, I was convinced that the reign of Santa Anna, should he be elected President, could prove neither glorious, nor of long duration. The lively and sincere interest I felt for him and his country (for I had hitherto had to complain but of a President and some Ministers there), again placed the pen in my hands, and in two other numbers of the “Bee,” of February, 1833 (\*), with the usual anonymous signature X. Y. Z., I gave to the public, and sent immediately to Santa Anna at his farm, my “*Considerations sur la Convention de Zavaleta*.” This was, perhaps, the most important homage offered by me to my *true friend*. He would have found in those *Considerations* every desirable suggestion to prevent all future national calamities, had he had some instruction, some firmness and true patriotic intentions.

*Twenty-fourth March, 1833.*—After a tedious passage of sixteen days, I entered the port of Vera Cruz, on the 24th of March, in the morning, the very day in which the local press announced the election of Santa Anna to the presidency, by seventeen State Legislatures against three, and of Valentin Gomez Farias for the Vice Presidency, as resulted from the returns which were opened in Mexico, some days earlier than was contemplated. An officer of police came on board, collected the passports of all the passengers, and went on

shore. My passport had been countersigned also by the Mexican Consul in New-Orleans, Señor F. Pizarro Martinez; but it was not rendered to me until late in the afternoon; and then I was permitted to land, with the order of presenting myself immediately to the Governor of the State, Señor Juillie. I went accordingly, and his Excellency told me very politely, that on account of my having been banished in 1826, and of his having no order to permit my introduction in the Republic, *I ought to stop in that city and wait for superior determinations.* In vain I exhibited to him the documents, which I had the precaution to carry with me, showing that my return to Mexico was authorized by three Presidents, Guerrero, Pedraza, and Santa Anna. In vain I observed to him that I had not been *judicially* banished; that I was actually a citizen of the United States under a treaty, which permitted no arbitrary proceedings against my person; that my passport, issued from my own Government, was authorized also by the two Mexican Consuls of New-York, and New-Orleans, &c. In vain also I asked the permission to go and pay a short visit to my *old friend* General Santa Anna, at his farm in the vicinity of the city. His Excellency seemed to me as laboring under a secret force, which obliged him to resist all my solicitations against his own will: he had already received instructions from my *true friend* during my stay on board. . . . . I was therefore compelled to stop there, and took lodgings at Mr. Fulton's, an American gentleman, who offered us kindly his hospitality. He was cohabiting with the owner of the house, Mr. Doucet, a French physician, who received us also courteously. The Governor immediately despatched an express to Manga-de-Clabo.

With a letter of this same date, 24th of March, I communicated this disagreeable disappointment to my friend Señor Zavala, then again Governor of the State of Mexico, residing in Toluca, soliciting his active interference. We shall soon see his answer.

*Twenty-fifth of March, 1833.*—Next day, 25th of March, before sunrise, I sent the Professor of Chemistry, my fellow-traveller, to General Santa Anna, with a note informing him of my arrival, my detention, my impatience to see him, &c. The messenger was coolly received, and the answer he brought back to me was the following:

“MANGA-DE-CLABO, *March 25th, 1833.*

“SEÑOR O. DE A. SANTANGELO:

“MY HIGHLY APPRECIATED FRIEND: Your favor, which has been handed to me to day by Don Angel Binaghi, whom you recommend to me, *has filled me with joy*, by having informed me of your *happy* arrival at Vera Cruz, whence you and said recommended gentleman may dispose of my *inutility* in serving you in every possible way. *My occupations for the present, and my infirmities, do not permit me to write to my friend Señor Pedraza about your advancing into the interior of the country*; but I intend to do so by the next mail [when Pedraza ought to cease to be President]. In

the mean time you can remain in Vera Cruz, where, *I believe*, you will not meet with any *obstacle* that might trouble your tranquillity. I desire that you may pass your time agreeably in company with your lady, whose feet I kiss, and dispose of your very *affectionate friend* and assured servant, who kisses your hands.

“A. L. DE SANTA ANNA.” (94)

*Twenty-ninth of March, 1833.*—The loveliness of that note could not conceal from my eyes the perfidy of the writer. “He does not come to see me; he does not allow me to go and see him; he has no time, no health to write to President Pedraza for my advancing into the country. . . . Why? because the Governor Juillie has already informed him that I have the permission of Pedraza in my pocket; . . . because Pedraza is to leave the presidency within five days (the 1st of April), and then my fate will be in his own hands. . . . He advises me to *remain* in Vera Cruz, where, he *believes*, that I would meet with no obstacles. . . . He *believes*! Is he then not determined to maintain my rights? *Obstacles*! Has he no power to remove them? Yet, whilst a simple General, he repeatedly wrote to me that my return to Mexico was permitted: has he lost now all power whilst a President, a conqueror, an omnipotent national idol? He now offers me his ‘inutility.’ Bah! Don Antonio must have a very low opinion of my judgment. He is now in his chrysalis; . . . he is changing coat, and wishes not to blush in my presence.” . . . It was in this strain of fancy that I was soliloquizing; and although not in the least disposed to intermingle in his political or impolitical speculations, still I was evidently in danger. No doubt, under the pretext of his not having yet entered into office, he proposed to have me again out of the Republic through his Vice President Farias. I had then no time to lose. I addressed a petition to the Government, dated 29th of March, containing an extract of the documents of the permission obtained from Presidents Guerrero, Pedraza, and Santa Anna, and representing my quality of citizen of the United States, the legality of my passport, &c.; and I had this petition published in the “Censor,” of the following day, 30th March, through the following note to its editors:

“MESSRS. EDITORS OF THE CENSOR: The Mexican liberals know that in July, 1826, President Victoria made me quit this Republic, as the author of a little work, which was not understood, on the “Congress of Panama.” It now seems necessary that they should also know in virtue of what authorization I have arrived at this port, and for what purpose. Deign, then, to insert in your appreciable columns the enclosed petition, which I have addressed to his Excellency the President of the Republic, soliciting the permission to proceed into the interior, as I am detained here by his Excellency the Governor of the State,” &c. (95)

*Thirteenth of April, 1833.*—Several journals of the capital republished my memorial to the Government, and still there was no

resolution taken. In the mean time my suspicions about the defection of Santa Anna were confirmed by the fact of his being daily visited at his farm by a great number of notable Escoceces, and priests, monks, marchionesses, countesses, &c.; and by certain expressions of the Commandant-General of the State, Don Ciriaco Vasquez, whom I had visited in Vera Cruz, trying to obtain through him the permission of paying a visit to my *true friend*, to whom I addressed on the 6th of the same month a letter somewhat *urgent* on the subject of my detention, which was answered, not before the 13th, as follows:

"MY ESTEEMED FRIEND: Informed of the occurrences [what occurrences?] posterior to your arrival at the port, whence you have communicated them to me in your favor of the 6th instant, I wrote by the last mail to the Supreme Government, that it may permit you to advance into the interior of the Republic, as your appearance at its gates cannot be deemed to be a violation of its laws, on account of Señor Pedraza, as well as *myself*, having told you *that you could do so*. I believe that said order will soon come and enable you freely to dedicate yourself to the foundation of your establishment of education. I return you my thanks for your congratulations and affectionate expressions, with which you favor me in another letter of the same date; and I make the same to your lady, whose feet I kiss. In the mean time I wish you good health, and beg you to order what you please from your *affectionate friend* and assured servant, who kisses your hands.

"A. L. DE SANTA ANNA." ( 96 )

*Sixteenth of April, 1833.*—Zavala now awoke from his lethargy, and in answer to my communication of the 24th ultimo, wrote me the following:

"TOLUCA, April 16th, 1833.

"MY VERY ESTEEMED FRIEND: A few days ago I had the pleasure to receive your appreciated letter of the 24th ultimo, and, informed of its contents, I have to express to you how painful have proved to me the disappointments you have experienced at your arrival at Vera Cruz. In consideration of this, I write under this same date to the actual President, that he may destroy the obstacles which may exist to your coming here. I say *here*, because I inform him that I am myself he who has caused you to come to this Republic, to establish a college in this State. This seems to me to be the best means which I can use to shelter you from *prejudices*, and enable you to come here without delay, and realize your plans, from which must undoubtedly result a good to the nation. Be persuaded that, had it depended from me, *you would not have had to suffer the damage of remaining until now in that port*," &c. ( 97 )

*Twenty-first of April, 1833.*—Santa Anna, having now no further means to give a color of justice to the obstacles he had secretly

attempted to oppose to my advancing into the interior of the Republic, could no longer avoid to receive a visit from me. I was informed of his *friendly* condescension by the Commandant-General Vasquez, on the 20th of April; and on the following day, 21st, he came at daybreak, according to our rendezvous, to take me and my wife in his carriage. On our arrival at Manga-de-Clabo, the President was not in; he had gone to visit his cattle around his farm. Introduced to his lady, we found a poor simple female, who, on being presented by my wife with a handsome English work-case and a fashionable fan, could not say, "I thank you." The arrival of His Excellency was announced, I ran heartily to embrace him; he told me smiling: "Good morning, sir; how are you; walk in;" and on our entering his rustic parlor, he sat down in an immense old arm-chair, and began to read the journals just arrived from the capital. A tall gentleman came now to show him a cock; "Let us try him," said he, and leaving me unceremoniously alone, went to witness in his park a cock-fight. Called to the breakfast, he placed my wife on his right at table, and myself on his left. His father-in-law, the gentleman of the cock, a Doctor Pages, Gen. Vasquez, a young aid-de-camp, another Señor who appeared to be an amanuensis, were with us. During the breakfast, consisting of stewed kidney, milk and *tortillas*, silence was not interrupted, but by some awkward compliments addressed by the *modest maid* to my wife. I studied his face, and found in it the expression of a timid treachery. The breakfast being over, we all retired to the parlor of the cottage, where he found some new visitors, and soon engaged in a long nonsensical talk with them. I went to smoke a segar in the park, and asked my wife whether she felt strong enough to accompany me forthwith, on foot, back to Vera Cruz. She understood; she read my feelings in my countenance; and with a happy eloquence induced me to witness with a stoical firmness the last development of the scene. I did not again see my *true friend* until at dinner, during which I tried to engage a conversation on the mysterious inaction of the Government on my account. He then, after having told me in a low voice, "I have written to it again in your favor," loudly exclaimed: "Eh, Señor de Santangelo, Usted tiene muchos enemigos en Mejico,"—(Eh, Mr. Santangelo, you have many enemies in Mexico)—wishing to insinuate that if some harm was done to me, the blame should not be attributed to him; which recalled to me the common motto: *Accusatio non petita, accusatio manifesta*. My reply was: "I know it, but I know also that Santa Anna is the Mexican President." To this he answered by offering gracefully my wife some fried squash. After dinner, I expressed to him my desire of having a tête-à-tête. He led me to a corner of the yard, and I began:

*Myself*—Have you received, sir, seven numbers of the Bee, which I have of late addressed to you from New-Orleans?

*President*—Which?

*Myself*—Those containing your biography, a parallel between you and Bustamante, a dissertation on Mexican elections, and some considerations on the Convention of Zavaleta.

*President*—No, sir.

*Myself*—Here you have them (drawing them from my pocket); and allow me to read you only a few lines about Mexican elections. (I read) “But let Santa Anna, or Minerva herself, be the new President of Mexico, he will do neither more, nor better, than his predecessors, should he be condemned to govern under the actual Constitution of the country, which has . . . . .”

*President*—Pages [calling his physician], take these papers, and tell Gonzales [the editor of the Censor] to have the articles relating to me and Mexico, translated into Spanish, and published in his paper.

*Myself*—When will you start for the capital?

*President*—Towards the end of this month (April).

*Myself*—Am I certain to be enabled to see you there?

*President*—Most assuredly; and if you could suggest some speedy means (ardides) to re-invigorate our finances . . . .

*Myself*—Impossible. No general principles of political economy can be properly applied to the peculiar situation of a State, without a thorough knowledge of it. Could the archives of your Department of *Hacienda* (Finances) be placed under my inspection?

*President*—We will treat of this in Mexico.

*Myself*—I hope I will be able to precede you.

*President*—[Turning towards my wife]—“Si, Señorita, pronto nos veremos en Mejico.” (Yes, madam, we shall soon see each other again in Mexico.)

*Myself*—Indeed, sir, my long and unaccountable stay in Vera Cruz has caused, and is causing me, much damage.

*President*—By and by you will retrieve all losses . . . .

Here we were called by General Vasquez to enter his carriage, and go back to Vera Cruz.

*Twenty-sixth of April, 1833.*—The following *official* communication came to hand in the morning of the 26th of April:

#### “POLITICAL DEPARTMENT OF VERA CRUZ.

“His Excellency the Governor, in date of yesterday, has forwarded to me the following note, with an official communication of the 20th instant. His Excellency the Secretary of State and Relations, says the following:

“‘MOST EXCELLENT SIR: His Excellency the Vice President (Farias) has been informed, by the note of your Excellency, of the arrival of the foreigner O. de A. Santangelo at Vera Cruz; but, as this individual left the Republic in virtue of an order of the Supreme Government, and the latter having no sufficient data which could legalize his introduction in the Republic, His Excellency had not been pleased to answer your Excellency in conformity with the



wishes of said foreigner Santangelo. But, informed now of his having obtained sufficient guaranties to be enabled to introduce himself, and reside in the Mexican territory, His Excellency the Vice President directs me to tell your Excellency that *his introduction can be permitted*. I insert it to your Excellency for your intelligence and corresponding effects.'

"I translate it to you for your government, that you may apply when you please to this office to get the corresponding passport.

"God and Liberty.

"JOAQUIN DE MUÑOS Y MUÑOS." (98)

"To Señor O. de A. Santangelo."

NOTE.—From the facts hitherto stated and unquestionably proved, it clearly appears that Santa Anna, notwithstanding his constant kissing of hands and feet in his mellifluous letters, was never my friend but for the purpose of making me his secretary, agent or tool, for his ambitious projects, covered with the mask of the most refined hypocrisy. That I never received, directly or indirectly, the slightest favor or recommendation from him. That if in his letter of the 21st of October, 1829, he wrote me that *there could be no objection to my return to Mexico, &c.*, it was because General Guerrero was at that period the President, and I had already obtained from him the permission I was soliciting, without his interference. That, on the contrary, he was indebted to me for hard literary labors, heavy expenses, and services of the highest value in his own behalf, with the sacrifice of my personal tranquillity. And that, on my appearing again on the Mexican shores, he ceased to be my *false friend*, only to become my most determined, although secret, *enemy*, waiting for an opportunity to throw away his mask, and consummate the work of my complete ruin. This for the present.

*Twenty-ninth of April, 1833.*—The publication of the articles of the "Bee," committed by Santa Anna to the "Censor," was secretly countermanded, as they were written for the chief magistrate of a *Federal Republic*, and by no means for a military dictator. Informed of it, I withdrew those papers from the office of the Censor. Leaving now with Mr. Thomas Savage, an American commission merchant, my piano, and the fifteen packages of books, and other objects destined for the projected lyceum, to be forwarded to me in Mexico, through the usual commercial means of transport, I started on the 29th of April, for the capital, with my family and our personal luggage, in one of the stages of the line, established there by American enterprisers, between Vera Cruz and Mexico, and with no other reliance for protection but on my quality of *American citizen*, and on the article xiv of the treaty of the 5th of April, 1831, between the two nations.

In Puebla I had the pleasure to take supper with Generals Arago, Valencia and Mexia. The latter, who was also a Senator, offered me his house in Mexico, and I accepted it for a short time. He then

avored me with a letter for his wife, an English lady, and I continued early next morning, my journey.

*Third of May, 1833.*—I entered Mexico in the afternoon of the 3d of May, and was kindly received by Mrs. Mexia. I went next day to pay my respects to the Vice President Farias, acting President, whom, by way of jest, I thanked for having obliged me to wait thirty-six days in Vera Cruz for his permission to advance into the interior. "Amigo mio," he replied mysteriously, "no tengo yo la culpa." (My friend, it has not been my fault.) I understood; he was right. . . . Farias, I know him personally, is a man of honor. He promised, however, to do every thing in his power for the establishment of my lyceum. I visited likewise the Chargé of the United States, Colonel Butler, who retained my passport, and obtained for me from the Government the "letters of protection" (*carta de seguridad*), according to the established regulations. By that proceeding, the Government was *officially* informed that I was a *citizen of the United States*, under the safeguard of the treaty of 1831. This fact has been certified also by the Consul of the United States there, Mr. Wm. S. Parrott.

In those days President Santa Anna made his appearance in the capital, having on his left the famous priest Ramos Arispe, whom he had appointed his Minister of Justice and Ecclesiastic Affairs, and whom he had charged with maledictions in 1826, as one of the principal authors of my banishment.

General Mexia came home also, and took his seat in the Senate; he had offered to present and support before that body, my claim for the redress of the injuries and affronts caused to me by that banishment, as soon as things had taken a regular course. This moment never arrived.

In consequence of the most diligent investigations about the fate of the eleven hundred copies of my "Congress of Panama," I had left with Mr. Dick, I was apprized that since 1829, he had departed for London in a manner little honorable to a merchant. I had then derived not even one-third of the expenses of the publication of my book, which ought to have produced a benefit of six thousand dollars, between the copies which disappeared through the hands of Dick, and others.

My fifteen packages arrived from Vera Cruz, for the freight of which I paid to the muleteer Ioquin Acosta, one hundred and sixty-five dollars. (99)

A little later I was notified to pay, and I paid, to the order of the *hospitable* Fulton, of Vera Cruz, two hundred and fifty-two dollars for thirty-six days boarding and lodging in the house of Dr. Doucet, at seven dollars per diem for myself, my wife, the professor of chemistry Dr. Binaghi, and my chamber-maid. I complained of this exaction to Dr. Doucet, who answered me under date of the 18th of May: "I am scandalized at the covetousness of Mr. Fulton; he always made me understand that he was giving you an

amicable hospitality, as is generally practised here; but, as he avails of my house to make an inn of it, I will see to putting this affair to rights." (100) He did nothing. My piano also arrived on one of the wagons of the *conducta*, returning empty from Vera Cruz to Mexico, for which I paid the freight of one hundred and ten dollars and twenty-five cents, at the usual rate of four dollars and fifty cents per arroba; it weighed twenty-four and a half arrobas. (101) Finally I was obliged to pay ten dollars for the transport of two mattresses, which I had left with Dr. José Maria Perez, in Xalapa, on my way from Vera Cruz to Mexico, the stage having refused to carry them farther than that town. (102)

*First of June, 1833.*—After having obtained the approbation of several influential persons to my plan for the foundation of the lyceum in contemplation, I published its "Prospectus," under date of the 1st of June, entitled: "LYCEUM AZTEQUE, under the direction of O. de A. Santangelo, a citizen of the United States." The *prospectus* began thus: "To place within the reach of the Mexican youth a physical, moral and scientific education, consonant with the principles adopted in this Republic; to free parents from the necessity of sending their children to distant countries in search of knowledge, at great expense and with but little certainty of good success; to establish a centre of uniform public instruction, that may contribute to the creation and promotion of a *national spirit*, the only means to render effective the advantages of the *federal system*; behold the considerations which have determined the foundation of the *Lyceum Azteque* in this Federal city."

And it was concluded as follows:

"It will perhaps not be useless to inform the public that this *prospectus*, highly recommended by Señores Lorenzo de Zavala, José Maria Tornel, José Antonio Mexia, and approved by Señores Valentin Gomez Farias, Crecencio Rejon, Ignacio Basadre, has just been submitted by its author to the high consideration of His Excellency the President of the Republic (Santa Anna), through His Excellency the Minister of Relations." (103) The President however turned a deaf ear to it. The principles of *federalism*, expressed in it, were too much at variance with his central, dictatorial, monarchical or imperial projects; and the banishment of the author was already decreed in his *truly friendly* heart.

*Twenty-sixth of June, 1833.*—Governor Zavala addressed to the President, under date of the 29th of June, this confidential letter:

"Public interest, which has always been the object of your views, comes now in support of a learned foreigner, a victim to the cause of liberty. Mr. Santangelo, protected in other times by us, wishes now to establish a college on the basis of solid instruction. The greatest good which might be done to our country, is to lead her on the road of knowledge. This gentleman asks but a building and a small sum. Either the college of 'Santos,' or the hotel of 'Direction,' would well answer the purpose. Add to so many titles which

you have already acquired to immortality and the remembrance of posterity, this new proof of your love for the country and her progress. I dare to hope that within three months, you will see the wonderful effects of such an establishment. On my part, I do the same in my State," &c. (\*)

Under the same date, Governor Zavala wrote to Senator Rejon :

"I believe you are informed of the project of Mr. Santangelo, to establish a college on the basis of a sound instruction. You are, no doubt, aware that the best means to destroy our clerical colleges, is to put them in comparison with those where useful knowledge is imparted to man. I think that should they give Mr. Santangelo the building called 'College of Santos,' and a limited sum of money, they would render a service to the country. He will doubtless meet the opposition of the ancient Seminarists, *Ildefonsinos*, *Latranistas*, &c. But now is the time to disperse prejudices and interests opposed to public welfare," &c. (\*)

*Twenty-ninth of June, 1833.*—General Tornel, Minister of War, wrote also to the Secretary of State, Minister of Relations, under date of 29th of June, thus :

"My well known interest for the progress of education, and your own not less so, encourage me to recommend to you *very particularly* the project of Mr. Santangelo. My earnestness arises from the desire I have to place two of my children in this establishment. I just learn that, on account of the departure of Colonel Don Eulogio Villaurrutia and his family, the house No. 1. Perpetua Street, is dis-occupied; it would well answer the purpose, and is a national property," &c. (\*)

*Fifteenth of July, 1833.*—In June last a Lieutenant-Colonel Escalada, with three hundred men of infantry, secretly moved by Santa Anna, and soon followed by General Duran at the head of four hundred horsemen, took the field, proclaiming "Centralism, Religion, and Dictator." Santa Anna asked and obtained from Congress, the permission to march himself in person against the *rebels*. During his march, with a strong division of troops, General Arista, his second, *arrested* him, because he would not *become a dictator!* From the beginning of this truly childish and ridiculous farce, there was for a long time no tranquillity in the country. President Santa Anna, now arrested, now released, now marching again without ever encountering the *enemy*, now suspending his operations on account of the cholera morbus, now retreating to recruit his health or procure money, and always fomenting the revolutionary movement all over the Republic, through his numerous relatives, aids-de-camp, and agents of all classes, especially members of the church, to get a dictatorship which he protested highly to abhor, had left the reins of the Government to the Vice President Farias, an honest patriot, prescribing him to adopt measures of rigor against the partisans of the revolt, and accusing him at the same time of tyrannical conduct!!!

I had, then, to address myself to Vice President Farias, soliciting a locality for the establishment of my lyceum, and I received from his Secretary of State Señor Garcia, under date of the 15th of July, the following official communication:

“FIRST SECRETARY OF STATE,  
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR. }

“Under this date I communicate to His Excellency the Secretary of Finances, the following:

“‘MOST EXCELLENT SIR: His Excellency the Vice President has ordered that the ‘Convent of Camilos,’ having no friars, be rented to Don O. de A. Santangelo, for the establishment of education he proposes to direct, this Secretary indicating the *rent to be paid* by him, either in cash, or in compensation by the children with whose education he might be trusted by the Government; it being understood that in said edifice shall be comprised the ball alley, the church remaining at the charge and under the care of the ecclesiastic who is now charged with it, quite independent from the literary establishment, its director being only permitted, should he solicit it, to have an interior communication to cause his alumni to attend to the relations, obligations and practices; for the effect of which, and for what may concern this subject, I transmit this communication to the Minister of Justice.’

“And I transcribe it to you for your information, in the intelligence that said establishment, being merely private or particular, the Supreme Government shall have no other interference in it than that which may belong to it in others of a like nature; and therefore *the above mentioned rent of the building shall be collected according to the terms specified in the annexed order.*

“God and Liberty.

GARCIA.

“MEXICO, *July 15th*, 1833.

“To O. de A. Santangelo.” (104)

*Seventeenth of July*, 1833.—The Secretary of Finances, Señor Bocanegra, conformably with the preceding note from the Secretary of the Interior, Señor Garcia, exacted from me immediately my *offers*. . . . . I presented them on the 17th of July (105), and they were sent for consideration or execution to the Commissary General of the District, Señor *Esnaurizzar*, a Saracen name, to which the adage *Respondent rebus nomina sape suis*, could be with propriety applied. Hostile both to all public instruction, and to foreigners (to me, perhaps, in a superlative degree), he rejected all offers, and dictated conditions utterly inadmissible. In vain I had the patience of daily ascending the stairs of the palace during a whole month. In speaking with Garcia, Bocanegra, or Farias, I was always right; but the Saracen made them tremble: he had received, no doubt, some instructions from my *true friend*. . . . . Still, I courageously submitted to his conditions, and the notary public, Señor Iglesias, was charged to draw up the corresponding

agreement between the Mexican Government, as the *owner* of the "Convent of Camilos," and myself as the *tenant*; and before the signature of it, I was *nobly* trusted with the keys and the furniture of the Convent, possibly in the hope that I would dispose, without a legal authorization, wholly or partly, of that furniture, and thus give room to an impeachment against my person.

*Twentieth of August, 1833.*—Called, at last, to the signature of the writing, I found on it an additional condition, never spoken of before, and purporting that "in case that the Government had to restore the Convent to the 'Camilos,' I ought to receive from it an equivalent local." The Government, said I, is not therefore the true owner of the Convent. . . . . The friars can expel me from it whenever they please. . . . . I shall have, consequently, to lose the enormous expenses I shall have met to give an old and half ruined Convent the form of a decent house of education. . . . My alumni, not contented with another abode, will desert me. . . . . On these considerations, I refused my signature, and was soon after ordered, on the 20th of August, to deliver the furniture ( 106 ), which was found intact. I was afterwards *judicially* condemned to pay to the notary nine dollars for a contract not stipulated, and not broken by me. Thus ended all transaction for the college, and all *protection*. The whole history of this affair is related in a supplement to the "Columna." ( \* ) A periodical of Tampico bitterly censured the shameful inconsistency of that Government in this instance. *Cui bono?* Governments can tremble but never blush.

*Seventh of September, 1833.*—Abandoned to myself, and compelled to draw from my own brain an honest livelihood, I solicited from the Government of the District, then Gen. Martinez, the permission of opening in my house a course of political economy and foreign languages; and I obtained it in the following terms, which will likely appear to free people somewhat eccentric:

"Ignacio Martinez, General of Brigade, Governor of the Federal District: I grant license to Don Orazio Attellis Santangelo, *a citizen of the Northern United States*, to open and maintain in this capital a school of foreign languages, and a course of political economy. Therefore, I order all *civil* and *military* authorities not to oppose any embarrassment in the use of this license, but on the contrary to protect, and cause to be protected the *pre-eminences* and *exemptions* proper for so recommendable an occupation.

"Given in Mexico, on the 7th of September, 1833.

"IGNACIO MARTINEZ.

"JOAQUIN RAMIREZ ESPANA, *Secretary*." ( 107 )

I then hired the large house just vacated by Colonel Butler, and inhabited before him by the Secretary of State, Garcia, to whom I was obliged to pay, by order of Mr. Butler, a *trespass* of five hundred and twenty dollars, in exchange for an old carpet and two window curtains.

*Second of October, 1833.*—The noblest sex not being extremely

fond of study in Mexico, I thought it to be more advisable to have an academy of young ladies, under the direction of Mrs. Santangelo. She applied for a license, which was granted, as follows:

"Ignacio Martinez, General of Brigade, and Governor of the Federal District—Doña Marietta Santangelo, having been examined by the Committee of Education of Primary Instruction of the most excellent *Ayuntamiento*, and she being capable for the office of instructress, as said Committee reports and notifies this Government, she can from this time establish a school proper for her sex, for which I grant her this license. Accordingly I order the subaltern *authorities* of the district, and *entreat* the *ecclesiastic* and *military* to protect, and cause to be protected, the favors and pre-eminences due to an occupation so praiseworthy and necessary.

"Given in Mexico, October 2d, 1833.

"MARTINEZ.

"JOAQUIN RAMIREZ ESPAÑA, *Secretary*." (108)

NOTA.—To understand why the civil, ecclesiastic and military favor is necessary to open a school in Mexico, we should know that the Mexican Government is in fact a *triceps apud inferos Cerberus*; the religious, the civil and the military authority. The *religious* laughs at the other two, for, without being observed, it moves *ad libitum* all the individual minds, hearts and wills of the people; so that the three political powers, legislative, executive and judicial, are virtually subservient to the edict of a bishop. The *civil*, which ought solely to govern, either knows not how, or does not dare; the *pronunciamiento* of a corporal, or the sermon of a capuchin, makes it tremble, paralyzes it, and leads it to criminal or foolish deeds. And the *military* leagues itself now with the civil to check the religious, now with the religious to subdue the civil, and, always certain of impunity, nay of rewards, it often beats them both, and places despotism on the Republican throne. Santa Anna is the man whose skill in the exercise of the latter power is inimitable. In Mexico the soldiery is every thing; the people nothing at all.

*Twenty-fifth of May, 1834.*—Foreign, nay, adverse to all political concerns, to all civil dissensions, which were tearing that badly constructed social edifice to atoms, I displayed exclusively all my energy to aid Mrs. Santangelo in the organization of her academy, and the truly solid instruction of her pupils; and, by a singular coincidence, on the same day, 25th of May, 1834, in which that famous *Plan de Cuernavaca* was proclaimed, which proved to be the corner stone of centralism, aiming to elevate a military dictatorship on the ruins of the federal system, an examination of our pupils took place, which astonished their parents and the public, and promised both to my institute fame and durability, and to myself a splendid fortune. This institute being the same which has been contemptuously designated in the documents of the second session of the 25th Congress of the United States, marked No. 3, as a *school for young*

women, I must be permitted to give here a more exact idea of it, by inserting an extract of what several parents (*varios padres de familia*), published in a Supplement to the "Telegraph," of Mexico, No. 79, vol. V, about the examination in question. They said :

"MESSRS. EDITORS OF THE TELEGRAPH :

"The interesting spectacle which we have witnessed on the 25th instant, in the Institute of Mrs. Marietta de Santangelo, No. 13, Refugio street, imposes on us the obligation of addressing to you a succinct relation of facts, which cannot fail to attract the attention of all lovers and protectors of instruction. We do it with confidence, certain that you will consider this less as a personal communication, than as a document of the progress of knowledge amongst us, and, at the same time, as an unquestionable evidence of the great aptness of our youth of both sexes to excel in all kinds of knowledge, when directed by competent instructors. Through a circular of the 12th of this month, which was found in the 'Phoenix' of the 15th, we were invited to attend, on the 25th, a 'private examination,' to which Mrs. Santangelo proposed to subject the youth of both sexes under her tuition, stating, among other things: 'The object of these *private examinations*, besides an annual *public* one, is but the repetition which the pupils make in presence of their parents, of what they have learned within the four preceding months, as I think it improper that the interested parties should remain a whole year in ignorance of the result of their noble efforts and sacrifices for the education of their children.' We were in attendance, then, at the rendezvous; and without making the least mention here of the great decency and admirable order, which reigned during the performance, the distinguished talents and the noble kindness of the directress being notorious, let us go to the substance. The assembly was presided over by General Don Pedro Anaya, and Senator Don Manuel Aguilera. Mrs. Santangelo addressed it in a speech in the Castilian language, perfectly pronounced, demonstrating the wrong of those who judge learning to be a useless or prejudicial ingredient in the education of women. 'In fact,' added she, 'it would be very easy to convince them that a scientific education, excepting that which, with regard to men, is called professional or facultative, is in many respects more convenient to women than to men themselves; and I regret that the object of this brilliant meeting allows me only to state, that I am proud of the success of my few months' labor in behalf of the amiable young ladies who honor my school. . . . And, in relation to this, you will take into consideration, I trust, that out of the thirty-eight youths present at this my first private examination, only three entered my school in the last days of September of last year, when my institute was opened; six came in October following, four in December, twelve in January of this year, four in February, three in March, five in April, and one in the present month of May; and as to the state of instruction in which they



came from other schools to mine, you cannot be ignorant of it,' &c. . . . . On this occasion a statement was read to the assembly, showing the age of each pupil present, the number of schools which they had attended before, the number of years they had spent in them, the day of their admission to that of Mrs. Santangelo, the absolute want of instruction in which almost all of them found themselves at their entrance, and the studies they were actually pursuing. The case of Miss *Manuela Aguilera* caused the utmost sensation. She had never known the letters of the alphabet, nor the numbers; she had never taken a pen in her hands, nor had she ever been to any school; and, in the course of only *two months* she had learned, in this institute, reading, writing, the four operations of arithmetic, in dollars, reals and grains, and much of the French language, geography and embroidery. Senator Aguilera, one of the Presidents, then enthusiastically exclaimed: 'Y de esto soy buen testigo yo, yo que soy su padre.' (and I myself am a good witness of this; I who am her father)."

It also appears from said "Supplement," that the examination fell on the following branches: "Castilian reading and writing. Arithmetic; fractions, rule of three, of society, interest, discount, problems, &c. Moral philosophy. Castilian grammar. Complete course of astronomy in its relation with our globe. Physical and political geography, ancient and modern, limited to the north of Europe. General division of Europe; its states, capitals, governments, &c. French; words, phrases, dialogues, reading and translations *ex tempore*, detached and declamatory pieces, &c. English dialogue. Christian doctrine. Music; Spanish, English and Italian singing. Embroidery, &c.; the whole followed by a distribution of prizes." (109)

This institute, pronounced generally to be the best of the kind in the Mexican Union, had in the course of said year 1834, the following pupils: 2 of the family Arellano; 2 Aguilera; 1 Aguirre; 2 Archer; 1 Arguelles; 1 Berra; 2 Barrientos; 2 Barbadillo; 1 Bradburn; 5 Corral; 1 Codallos; 1 Cumplido; 1 Campardon; 6 Eschemburg; 1 Estrada; 1 Forster; 1 Fresni; 2 Georges; 3 Gonzales; 1 Gonzaga; 1 Guerra; 3 Gamboa; 1 Heim; 4 Heras; 1 Jessy; 1 Lozano; 1 Lisca; 1 Mendizaba; 2 Mora; 1 Marino; 1 Mozo; 2 Marsan; 1 Menocal; 2 Nieto; 2 Nava; 1 Oyarzun; 2 Piedras; 1 Prado; 1 Paoli; 2 Palacios; 2 Paris; 1 Paulet; 2 Paulin; 1 Pignatelli; 1 Perez; 1 Robledo; 1 Sevilla; 1 Saborio; 1 Santa Anna (José Antonio); 1 Salas; 3 Stavoli; 1 Smith; 4 Tagle; 2 Vitalba; 2 Wilson.—In all ninety-three pupils. This was *my school of young women!!!*

*Twenty-seventh of May, 1834.*—I had hitherto never seen again my *true friend* Santa Anna, nor had I thought of him, when, on the 27th of May, whilst I was taking my dinner, Col. Menocal came to tell me that the President wanted to see me forthwith. I took my hat and followed the Colonel to the palace. I found his Excellency

at table with a dozen of persons unknown to me, except Gen. Castrillon, one of his aides-de-camp. He, without any preliminary compliment, told me gravely to take a chair, which I did frankly, and the following dialogue took place:

*President*—I am told that you have a school.

*Myself*—Yes Sir.

*President*—We have several good French schools in the city.

*Myself*—I am glad of it.

*President*—What do you teach in your school?

*Myself*—Here is my card (giving him one of those I used to carry in my pocket).

*President*—What are your terms?

*Myself*—My card indicates them; from six to eighteen dollars per month, according to the age of the pupil, and the studies he pursues.

*President*—Do you take boarders?

*Myself*—I cannot have more than eight.

*President*—Have you any vacant place?

*Myself*—Yes Sir, two.

*President*—I wish to send you a boy eleven years old. What do you charge for boarders?

*Myself*—My card tells it: thirty-two dollars per month, for boarding and schooling, and eight dollars for manutention; in all forty dollars per month, payable quarterly in advance, the pupil bringing with him his bed, bedding and wearing apparel, according to the rules established.

*President*—My boy shall have every thing ready for the beginning of next month.

*Myself*—Have you any other order to give me? . . . . . Here Gen. Castrillon made me a question about Napoleon. The conversation extended soon on the contemporary history of Europe; and from my giving an account of the faults which had brought Napoleon to perish like a dog in Saint Helena, I went, by way of comparison, to show those which had caused Riego to be hung in Spain, Murat to be shot in Naples, Iturbide and Guerrero to undergo the same fate in Mexico. . . . . My *true friend* could no longer raise his fork to his lips. . . . . The assembly, profoundly silent, looked at me with astonishment. . . . . I perceived the error I had committed, took leave and went off.

But why call me so earnestly, at dinner time, and treat, in presence of so many persons, about placing a boy in my institute? The reason was obvious. Many who were informed of my ancient intimacy with Santa Anna, had suspected that I was actually his secret *adviser*, &c., and he would evince that he looked upon me as a mere *school-master*. . . . .

*First of June, 1834.*—Young José Antonio Santa Anna, a *natural* son of Don Antonio, alias my *true friend*, alias the *modest maid*, alias the President, was brought on the 1st of June to my institute,

and left there without any other formality, with his bed and baggage, filled with insects, shockingly filthy from head to foot, harpy-like nails, &c. Mrs. Santangelo, aided by her chamber-maids, immediately took the most maternal care of that unhappy child, had him thoroughly cleaned, and in a few days gave him the semblance of a little gentleman.

*Thirteenth of June, 1834.*—Colonel Menocal came in the morning of the 13th of June to inform me that the President, having been invited to a great dinner, this being the day of the Saint of his name, *Antonio*, desired to see me there with his son at four o'clock in the afternoon. This was evidently a second exhibition of my person: but I went prepared. The dinner was given at Barrera's house, at San Cosme, if I mistake not. At the given hour I arrived at the place, and found the President General, in full uniform, at the head of a long table, at which all the *grandees* of his court, and the foreign diplomatic body, were congregated, he having on his right and left two or three dozens of the most dazzling beauties that the market could afford. He received my respects, he looked at his son; . . . . . but no caresses to him, not the least civility to me, he being wholly busy in offering *bocaditos* to the surrounding goddesses. . . . . Could I there use my *cane*? I retired with the boy instantly. I was afterwards told that he was displeased at my disappearance; and in fact, I was wrong; I never ought to have humbled myself so far as to honor that punchinello with my presence again; and this was the last time.

*First of July, 1834.*—Towards the end of June, I sent the President my bill for the *quarter* due to the institute by his son. A Colonel Gutierrez came to inform me that His Excellency would pay by the *month*, and at the *end* of every month. I answered: "His Excellency knows my terms." To this he had the imprudence to observe that "the *protection* of the President was worth more than the quarter's pay I asked." I replied: "The President ought to *grant* and not *sell* protection to houses of education." The Colonel departed. On the 1st of July, he came again offering forty dollars for the expired month; and on my refusing that money, he withdrew the child. I felt happy to have bought so cheaply my independence from that noble Mécœnas. But afterwards I had to do with Vengeance herself.

*Fifth of January, 1835.*—Whilst the most violent commotions were agitating the Mexican Union, I was peacefully pursuing my professional occupations, and accumulating wealth, always in the expectation of a favorable moment to have my claim settled by Congress, and come back to my adopted country, the United States. On the beginning of 1835, Señor Del Corral, a learned gentleman, Chief Clerk of the Department of *Hacienda* (*Finances*), withdrew four of the five children he had at Mrs. Santangelo's academy since a long time; and I took the liberty of addressing him a note

to know whether he had any motive of dissatisfaction; to which he returned the following answer:

“FROM THIS YOUR HOUSE, *January 5th*, 1835.

“MR. O. DE A. SANTANGELO:

“MY VERY ESTEEMED FRIEND: In answer to your polite note, which I have just received, I have to say that since I placed under your care, and that of your lady, my five children, I never omitted for a single moment the examination of their progresses in the different branches in which we agreed they should be instructed, and in the principles of politeness and religion; and that I have always remained satisfied with the zeal you have both evinced in the fulfilment of such sacred obligations and high confidence; for which I shall always tender to you my due thanks. If I have now in the beginning of this month left with you only my eldest son, in order that he may perfect himself in the languages he is learning, this has been the effect of an indispensable measure of economy, to which I am compelled by my actual situation. I am always your most sincere friend, and attentive servant, who kisses your hands.

“JUAN JOSE DEL CORRAL.” (110)

This letter, the spontaneous expression of a gentleman enjoying the greatest consideration among his countrymen, is, I trust, a most irrefragable voucher of the high respectability of my *school for young women*.

*First of April*, 1835.—The new General Congress, appointed in the spirit of the subversive “Plan de Cuernavaca” of the 25th May, 1834, had assembled on the 14th January, 1835. President Santa Anna, whose farcical captivity by Arista had proved a subject of general laughing, now playing the *modest maid*, had *modestly* renounced the presidency, certain that Congress, his own creation, would by no means accept such a resignation; and in fact it only permitted him, by act of the 27th of said month of January, to go and re-establish his impaired health (*su salud quebrantada*) at his farm, the usual focus of all his conspiracies against public liberties. By two other acts of the same date, Congress had deprived the Vice President Farias, whose fidelity to the federal system was as true as immovable, of his *official* employment, and appointed General Miguel Barragan President *pro tempore*, the performer most *à propos* to serve as a cat’s paw moved by the monkey. Through him Santa Anna from his farm governed the Union, as if present in the capital.

Not taking the slightest notice of all these juggling tricks, and whilst in expectation of a suitable moment to present my claims in due form to Congress, I was exclusively working for public instruction. The Mexican Union had not a single periodical calculated to encourage agriculture, mechanics, or commerce, to promote science,

to instill moral and social principles, to excite love for useful studies, in one word, to ennoble the heart and enrich the mind. On the other hand, the numerous foreigners residing in the Mexican territory complained of never finding in the papers of the country detailed foreign news, but very rarely, and without that accuracy, discrimination and orderly continuation which might enable them to make a proper estimate of the true situation of things in Europe or elsewhere, and of the most important events of the day. Under this double aspect of general utility, I thought that a semi-weekly paper, presented in a decent form, written with some judgment, in various languages, and entirely foreign to domestic politics, could answer the purpose, and procure me some additional advantage from my own personal exertions. I spared, therefore, no trouble nor expense for the enterprise; and accordingly, on the 1st of April, 1835, I published the "Prospectus" of a paper under this title: "EL CORREO ATLANTICO, periodico poliglota, comercial, politico y literario" (the Atlantic Courier, a polyglot, commercial, political, literary periodical), the terms of the subscription being the following:

"The Atlantic Courier will be published every Wednesday and Saturday, on paper of the same quality and size, and in the same type, as used in printing this Prospectus. Communications will be received in the Spanish, French, English, Italian or German languages; provided they be properly written both as to morality and literature, and *may affect in no manner the internal politics or the religion of the country*. No anonymous articles will be admitted containing *personal* contests, even of a merely scientific nature. The price of subscription, payable monthly in advance, is one dollar and seventy-five cents in the city of Mexico, and two dollars and twenty-five cents abroad, free of postage. . . . . The first number to be published as soon as sufficient time shall have elapsed to give publicity to this Prospectus," &c. ( \* )

*Twenty-second of April, 1835.*—From among the favorable opinions given by the press on the "Prospectus" in question, I shall quote here that of the "Censor of Vera Cruz," of the 22d of April, it, being a paper invariably devoted to Señor Santa Anna: "We have formed the best opinion, and the most advantageous idea of a new periodical, polyglot, commercial and literary, which is about to be established in Mexico, and which we take pleasure in recommending to our friends. It will be published on Wednesday and Saturday of every week. Its first number will appear as soon as its Prospectus shall be sufficiently spread over the Republic; it will contain a glance on the actual situation of Europe, and a compendium of all the labors of the present Mexican Congress, from the first day of its installation. No anonymous communications in general, containing personal variances, although merely scientific, will be received."

*From the Censor of the twenty-third of April:* "In the idea which we presented yesterday of the new Periodical which is about to be

established in Mexico, we forgot to say that it is entitled 'El Correo Atlantico.' As soon as the *question of Zacatecas* shall permit us to rest, and leave us place enough in our paper, we will publish a beautiful discourse on commerce, which its editors insert, as an introduction, in their Prospectus." ( 111 )

The Zacatecas question was this: Congress by act of the 31st March, 1835, had reduced the national militia to *one militia-man per five hundred inhabitants*. The militia was the only bridle of the licentious *standing army*, which was the blind instrument of Santa Anna's exploits. The State of Zacatecas would not submit to this violation of its constitutional sovereignty: hence the question which was solved a little later by the sword.

*Second of May, 1835.*—The first number of the "Correo Atlantico," appeared on the 2d of May, 1835. ( \* ) Numerous subscriptions were obtained in the city, and soon likewise in all the different States of the Union, which, at an average of two dollars per month, amounted to twenty-four dollars each, per annum; so that in a few months one thousand subscriptions would have infallibly produced twenty-four thousand dollars per annum, had not the treachery of a military despot blasted all my just and honest expectations. Nay, the indications showed that several thousands of subscriptions were reasonably to be hoped for in a short time. A few communications from other editors to me on this subject will give an idea of the opinion entertained by the public about that paper.

"TOLUCA, May 7th, 1835.

"MR. EDITOR OF THE CORREO ATLANTICO, MEXICO:

"DEAR SIR: With the greatest satisfaction we have received your attentive and esteemed favor, dated 25th April, ultimo; in answer to which we have to state that from the moment in which we saw the Prospectus of the periodical which you are editing, we conceived that *it was to be of the highest utility to the Republic*; and we thought it to be our duty to transmit to you ours, whose merit consists in its being *official*. As to the rest, we distrust much of our productions, and are only encouraged by a desire of contributing as far as possible to the propagation of some scientific, mechanical and economical ideas, which come to us from instructed and able friends. On this account, we accompany the enclosed copies, on which we have marked the articles, which have hitherto appeared relating to this subject, that you may have the goodness to insert some *in your periodical, which must have a more general circulation than ours*. We avail of this occasion to offer you, Mr. Editor, our consideration, respect and friendship. Your devoted servants,

"THE EDITORS OF THE OLIVA.

"P. S. We have received the first number of the Correo, and hope to deserve from you the continuation of its transmission." ( 112 )

"MATAMORAS, *May 21st, 1835.*

"MESSRS. EDITORS OF THE CORREO ATLANTICO:

"GENTLEMEN: We have the satisfaction to acknowledge the receipt of your esteemed favor of the 25th April, ultimo, in which you request the remittance of our periodical in exchange for yours. This we will do with the *utmost pleasure*, and even shall try to procure subscribers for you, as far as that may be possible in this port, and we will omit nothing on our part to help an enterprise so praiseworthy as that you have undertaken to direct, for *we are aware most fully of its utility in a country which commences to figure in the great family of nations*. Some more establishments of the same nature as yours, formed in the principal cities of this Republic, and her maritime ports, would favor the progress of the arts, sciences, agriculture, manufacturing industry and commerce, more than all those *pronunciamientos* and revolutionary plans, which, under that pretext, have taken place since the year 1821, and in particular *against foreigners*, who do not enter this Republic as vagrant or idle, but with capitals and industry for the benefit of the country itself. We remain yours, &c.,

"THE EDITORS OF THE MERCURIO." (113)

"OAXACA, *May 31st, 1835.*

"MR. O. DE A. SANTANGELO:

"DEAR SIR: Before receiving your attentive note of the 29th of the past month, which I have now the honor of answering, I had commenced to remit the periodicals, which are under my charge. *They have no comparison with that which you are editing*, and still you had the kindness to transmit it to me, for *its merits over all the others of this class, which are published in the Republic, is notoriously known*. I shall continue, therefore, punctually sending mine, and receive with pleasure *your interesting one*, entreating you to deign to send me the prospectus, which I have not received, in order that there be no deficiency in the collection which I most ardently wish to preserve. You can likewise command me in whatever other thing, in which I could be useful to you in this capital, and all its State, assuring you that in serving you, your very devoted friend and assured servant, who kisses your hands, feels satisfaction,

"ANTONIO VALDES Y MOYA." (114)

For the elucidation of the facts which I have to state hereafter, relating to my "second banishment," I think it proper here to give the following historical account.

The Mexican Congress, installed at the beginning of this year, 1835, and composed mostly of priests and soldiers friendly to centralism, as proclaimed by the "Plan de Cuernavaca," had declared itself, by an act of the 2d May, invested with all the *extra-constitutional* faculties for making as many alterations to the Constitution of 1824, then in vigor, as it should deem *useful* to the nation. Ac-

cordingly, it passed on the same day another act, pardoning all persons that had committed political crimes from the 27th of September, 1821, to the 4th of January, 1835, except those who were *not born* in the Republic, and had pronounced themselves against the Government from the 1st of May, 1824; and no exception in favor of *naturalized* foreigners. The world had thus the example of a whole legislative body trampling at once under foot public faith, national honor, the law of nations, and the most sacred dogmas of universal justice. We will, therefore, not wonder at the incredible effrontery of Santa Anna in his successive operations, under the auspices of such a national representation.

The State of Zacatecas first attracted his attention. He saw in its opposition to the reduction of the militia to one militia-man per five hundred inhabitants, lawlessly ordered by Congress, a scandalous obstacle to his plans of *centralization*, and resolved to make it a terrific example to the other States. He then left his farm *in good health*, and, at the head of six thousand old troops, went to attack, at the gates of the city of Zacatecas, in the morning of the 11th of May, a mass of four thousand five hundred peasants, badly armed, worsely instructed, and hastily collected there by the Governor of the State, Cosío, to face the aggression. Of course, those poor people, at the first appearance of the *grand army*, laid their arms at the feet of the Mexican Napoleon. He, however, wishing to give that affair the color of a victory gained in consequence of a glorious battle, killed most wantonly and ferociously one thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven of those unhappy creatures, took prisoners the rest, caused many respectable foreigners to be assassinated and plundered in the place, nay, in the very bosom of their families, returned triumphant to Mexico, preceded by three carriages filled with friars, went to inhabit the Episcopal palace of Tacubaya, at three miles from Mexico; and on the 23d of May, was declared by Congress *benemerito de la patria*, (well deserving from the country). In the mean time, the President *pro tempore*, Barragan, preserved apparently the reins of the Government, going daily to Tacubaya to receive orders from Santa Anna.

He next cast his bloody eyes on Texas. That Colony, whilst forming a part of the State called of "Coahuila y Texas," considering that it had the population required by the Constitution to form a separate sovereignty, had already advanced its demand *ad hoc* through its chief colonist Colonel Austin, who, accused of having instigated the Colonists to assert their independence from Coahuila before their obtaining the assent of Congress, had been detained a whole year in the dungeons of the abolished inquisition. How could Santa Anna now expect that those Colonists, all free-born Americans, and actually citizens of a free, sovereign and independent State, would gladly become his humble vassals under the proposed central form of Government? He was, moreover, well aware that Texas, if attacked, would soon have under her banners a great number of



volunteers from the United States, and was not less persuaded that from the result of that campaign his elevation to the Mexican throne chiefly depended. Victory was consequently not to be a problem. He felt, therefore, the necessity not merely of a large army for the enterprise, but even of the declaration of a *national* war against the Texians, whom he considered as *Mexican* citizens in their *duties*, and as *foreigners* in their *rights*. To unite all the political parties of the country in the contemplated *national* war, he *very skilfully* spread the false rumor that the Government and the people of the United States aimed at *possessing themselves of that vast and beautiful part of the Mexican territory*, and caused the press to overload both Americans and Texians with calumnies and imprecations of the most abominable character. Congress, by an act of the same day, 23d of May, in which it had declared him *benemerito de la patria*, empowered him to go and *re-establish public order in the State of Coahuila and Texas*. The curtain was then raised, and the Texian drama commenced.

*Twenty-eighth of May, 1835.*—An editorial appeared in the *Gazette of Monterrey* (State of New-Leon, contiguous to Texas), under date of the 28th May, in the following alarming terms:

“Letters from persons worthy of faith, and eye-witnesses of facts exceedingly scandalous and unworthy even of the most savage tribes, committed by the Colonists and adventurers of Texas upon the unhappy Mexicans, whom those strangers have proposed to destroy, as if they were wild beasts, *conclusively* prove the precarious and terrible position in which the few of our countrymen find themselves who have remained with their new philanthropic guests, whose number increases from day to day, sheltered by the forbearance or dissembling which the Government of Coahuila is evincing in a matter so important. *It is already high time that the General Government should turn its attention to that frontier*, and redeem our Mexican brethren from the insufferable tyranny with which they are treated by those hungry adventurers, who, oppressed by wants in their own country, wish, right or wrong, to settle on that soil, and *make themselves exclusive masters of it*, killing and persecuting, in whatever mode their brutal and ferocious character may suggest, the true owners of the country they came to tread, and in which they have found the most generous reception. In our opinion it would be well to examine the titles of the Colonists, and expel all those who have introduced themselves without authority, supposing that these are nothing but adventurers, who have abandoned their native land, either for their vices and laziness, or for their poverty. We have been assured that in Nacogdoches not one single Mexican exists of those who formerly composed its fair population. This is the manner in which the Colonists conduct themselves towards those who give them a country and prosperity! These are the liberal, the humane, the wise population of the rich lands of Texas!” (115)

*Thirteenth of June, 1835.*—The heap of defamatory and vague

charges I have just mentioned, preferred by an unknown writer, bearing no mark of an official character, and tending evidently to excite general hatred and persecution against the Colonists of Texas, who, ignorant of the Spanish language, and isolated in a distant desert of the Republic, could not be informed of what was going on against them, and wholly defenceless, were exposed to a proditory, inevitable and imminent destruction; the insults, calumnies and imprecations resounding unceasingly every where against the Government of the United States, designated as the instigator of a revolt in Texas, contemplated to give it the possession of that Province; the outrages which, in consequence of the general effervescence created by the Mexican authorities and periodicals, were daily being committed in all the maritime and inland points of the Republic on American persons and property, and which, precisely at that period, gave rise to a great part of the claims at present under examination in Washington; these considerations had now rendered my silence impossible. I was an American citizen, and a true one. On the other hand, merely to doubt some gratuitous assertions of a gazette in *matters of fact*, without entering into any *political* discussion, was not in my eyes a violation of the law which I had imposed on myself not to intermeddle, in my *Correo*, in the internal politics of the country. I then spoke; but what did I say? Let my judges and the world look at this. I answered, in my *Correo*, of the 13th, page 49, the "*Gaceta of Monterrey*," in the following terms:

"We copy in continuation, an article from the *Gaceta of New-Leon*, in which attacks are produced of a serious nature against the Colonists of Texas. *We shall not contradict one single syllable of the article*; we are only desirous, as imputations are made which evidently tend to provoke national aversion and a general war against those settlers, to whom are applied the not very flattering epithets of adventurers, *extrangeros* (in the acceptation commonly given to these words), and who are accused of murders, brutality, ferocity, &c., that one sole fact, one document, one witness be produced in proof of such assertions, whose exactness does not appear to us sufficiently guaranteed by the vague citations of 'letters from persons worthy of faith, eye-witnesses.' " &c. ( 115 )

That is all. Did I offend the Mexican Government, or any Mexican being?

*Seventeenth of June, 1835.*—Soon after, in the beginning of June, 1835, the *official Gaceta of Mexico* published an *extract* from true or supposed letters of Matamoras, conceived as follows:

"The Colonists of Texas have been and are willing to laugh at the Mexican nation, relying on the good success which they hoped the factions of Zacatecas and Monclova would obtain, *to possess themselves of that immense and extremely fertile territory*, to which they allege their rights, not only as colonists, but as conquerors. Acting under such an excitement, they have *murdered* the valiant and honest Captain Don Antonio Tenorio [a fact contradicted after-

wards by the official Gazette itself], who, on account of the ill-will excited against him by *demagogues*, was obliged to march to Anahuac, with the *extremely small force* of a detachment of thirty-four men, to protect the officers of that *maritime custom-house*, bringing with him only twelve serviceable muskets for their defence; the said officers had fled, fearing the oppression of those *insolent North-Americans*, who did not wish to pay any duties to the nation; and that determined Captain, who well knew what was due to honor, and was well acquainted with his duty, would not resign his post for any motive whatever, notwithstanding the desertion of some of his troops, caused by *want of pay*, which he had not for them, nor had he received the least communication from his chiefs respecting it; whilst the Supreme Government, freed from its actual occupations, was adopting indispensable measures to restrain *the temerity and traitorous enterprise of those highway robbers of Texas*, who, emigrated from North-America, inhabit those vast regions. The result has been that this Mexican Tenorio, worthy of a better fate, *has received death from the hands of those Colonists*. In the confidential account I have received of this event, *no details* are given, except only that the *villains* of whom I speak *have murdered him treacherously*." (115)

Against this badly digested story I produced in my *Correo*, of the 17th of June, the description of the Texian Colonists and their character, then just made *officially* by a Mexican Colonel; and from the collation of this description with the above quoted *extract* of letters from Matamoras, I drew my consequences.

The description in question was this:

"In all the voluminous statistic notice upon Texas, presented on the 1st of January of this year, 1835, by Señor Juan Nepomuceno Almonte to the Supreme Government of Mexico, by whose order, dictated by the interest taken in the preservation of the *integrity of the Mexican territory*, Señor Almonte had travelled through Texas in the beginning of the past year (commissioned by the Vice President Farias), there is not the least mention made of facts, capable of inspiring the slightest apprehension of that people entertaining any idea or desire to *separate from the Union*. On the contrary, Mr. Almonte tells us, page 6: 'Texas must be very soon the most flourishing section of the Republic. It is not difficult for us to know the reason of this prosperity, if we consider that there, with the exception of some turbulent persons (and where are there no turbulent persons?), nothing is thought of but sowing sugar cane, cotton, wheat, tobacco, and raising cattle, opening roads, and rendering rivers navigable; and that *the effects of our political commotions are not felt but by chance*.'" (115)

In the statistic table of the population and municipalities of the District of Nacogdoches, Mr. Almonte mentions, page 67, the village of Anahuac, which he says contains fifty souls; adding page 75: "Anahuac is situated about one league from the mouth of the river

Trinidad, on its left margin; its situation is very picturesque. . . . There was some commerce in this village during its occupation by troops; since which time it has remained *abandoned*."

Finally, speaking of military posts, he says, page 77: "Besides the military post of Nacogdoches, Señor Teran established in this department two more; one at Teran, and another at Anahuac. The first of these two posts is well situated; but I doubt the utility of the second (of Anahuac), because all military posts on the coasts should be placed at the entrance of Galveston Bay to defend it, and not at its extremity, where only vessels of very light draught, and sometimes only boats can arrive, on account of an oyster-bank, which impedes its navigation until that point."

The consequences which I now drew from the mentioned comparison, were the following questions:

"1st. What *maritime custom-house* can a village of *fifty souls* possess, to which only vessels of very light draught can arrive, and sometimes only *boats*? The officers of the custom-house who *fled*, did they fear the population of the village itself, or an unknown force coming from the sea?

"2dly. Are these *fifty souls* natives or strangers? Who has ever demonstrated their being American Colonists, and *enemies* of Mexico?

"3dly. Is the force of *thirty-four men*, commanded by a Captain, remarkably small for a population of *fifty souls*, from which number, deducting the women, children, old men, sick, &c., ten men could scarcely remain capable of bearing arms?

"4thly. In virtue of what order, and from what place did Captain Tenorio move, to conduct thirty-four armed men, with *only twelve serviceable guns*, and without *the least communication with his chiefs*?

"5thly. How could a small population of *fifty souls* commit a gratuitous and *treacherous* assassination upon the person of the Captain, without fearing the revenge of the troops, of which revenge the paragraph does not make the least mention?

"6thly. Does not the circumstance of wanting pay for the troops give rise to the suspicion that the Captain attempted to commit some violence, which compelled the inhabitants, or only one of them, to exercise the right of self-defence?

"7thly. A murder, happening in an isolated place, in a village of *fifty souls*, of whose existence we are almost ignorant; a murder, of which neither the *details*, the motives, nor the true authors are known; a murder, of which the local authorities, if any exist, have never informed the Government (as until now nothing contradicts); this murder, true or imaginary, related by letters whose writers are hidden from the public; such a murder, we repeat, shall it be imputed to all the colonists of a territory, extending twenty-one thousand square leagues, according to Señor Almonte, page 19?

"8thly. But does this murder, let its nature be whatever it may,

prove that the Colonists of Texas think of *withdrawing from their obedience to the Metropolis, and of exercising the rights of conquerors?*

"It hitherto appears that, not the North-American Colonists of Texas, but the *anonymous* letters of Matamoras are provoking an *aggression, an injustice, a war . . . . .* by means which the impartiality, hospitality, and good sense of every worthy Mexican, cannot help reprobating. We have received the latest numbers of the '*Mercurio*,' up to the 21st of May ultimo, and we observe that neither in Matamoras, nor in Monclova, nor in any other part of the State of '*Coahuila y Texas*,' the least mention is made of the facts which appear to be the result of private and *anonymous* letters (at least for the public) recently published in this capital, against the Colonists of Texas." (115)

And this was my last sin in my *Correo*, after which I was condemned to a second banishment from Mexico! And by whom? By my *true friend*. And why? Had I offended the Mexican Government? From my advocating against private and unknown writers, the honor of my fellow-citizens of the United States, the uprightness of my own Government, and the innocence of the Texian Colonists, looked upon by the Mexican Government as *foreigners*, I could have, no doubt, displeased Santa Anna personally, my publications not being in accordance with his ambitious and exterminating projects (and this was not even my object); but it was a consequence, as inevitable as independent from my will, of my compliance with my duties towards my country, humanity, public morals, and the Mexican Nation itself. I preached justice and peace, and was punished as a preacher of anarchy and war! . . . . .

*Twenty-third of June, 1835.*—A superior officer, my friend, whom I could not name here without exposing him to the resentment of the still living Santa Anna, came in the morning of the 23d of June, and informed me, under the seal of secrecy, that this gentleman was *furios* on account of the *defence I had made of the North-Americans and the Texians*; and, also, for my having *ridiculed the nation*, by condemning "*cock-fights*," his favorite diversion, and the "*pronunciamiento* for centralism," made by the people of the capital in the night of the 12th of the same month.

We have already seen why, and in what terms, I defended American honor and Texian innocence; and certainly I had no apology to offer for that. Let us see now what reason the President of a free, enlightened and virtuous nation could have for complaining of what I had said about "*cock-fights*," and the "*pronunciamiento* for centralism" in the capital.

**COCK-FIGHTS.**—In making some observations about an advertisement published in other papers, inviting the people to attend at the cock-fights to take place in a neighboring town in celebration of the Easter, I had said in my *Correo* of the 13th May last, page 13, what follows:

"*Edifying*.—The approaching feast of the Holy Ghost will be celebrated in the neighboring town of Tlalpam, by a grand spectacle of cock-fights. Every day, during the festival days of Easter, the Divine Love will be symbolized by eleven *lovely* battles between cocks. The principal purse will be of \$200; five others of \$100; and the remainder of \$50. Music of all sorts, balls, illuminations, decent decorations, &c., every thing will concur to enhance the *warlike* exploits of the cock in honor and glory of the *pacific* Holy Ghost. Pious, innocent, sensitive maidens will run, will fly no doubt to Tlalpam. There the double effusion of the sweet ineffable spirit of God, and of the bitter poisonous blood of some *eleven* valiant kikirikis, will render their morals sublime, and engrave heroic sentiments in their tender and candid hearts!"

This censure, wholly foreign to *politics*, worthy of the approbation of all civilized governments, and highly commanded by the honor of mankind, deserved from another *philanthropic* editor, far more warlike than the cocks of Tlalpam, a rebuke so eminently villanous and stupid, that I copied it, *ad perpetuam rei memoriam*, in my Polyglot Correo, of the 23d of May, page 25, without the least observation, and with this submissive exclamation: "*Paix, mon brave, paix! J'ai tous les torts du monde . . . . . mais . . . . . errando discitur—Alexis.*" ( \* )

PRONUNCIAMIENTO.—In the night of the 12th to the 13th of June, an intoxicated mob were sent about the streets of Mexico roaring *centralismo*; a word which none of them could pronounce rightly. In my Correo of the 13th, I related the fact as it occurred, namely:

"*A new news*.—Yesterday, 12th of June, at ten o'clock in the night, an unusual noise of bells and fire-rockets, which continued for many hours, mingled with popular *vivas* and music, in the principal streets of the city, announced something new. We have been told at this moment that the Republic of Mexico, which last night was *federal*, has awakened this morning *central*." ( 116 )

Here I must be permitted to ask, who could imagine that to relate, without any comment, a partial movement of the mob in the city of Mexico, was to ridicule the whole Mexican nation? Who could conceive that the Mexican Government, being at the time *federal* itself, could take offence at the fact above related, free from all *political* observations; a nocturnal uproar having all the semblance of a criminal rebellion? Yet another silly and scurrilous bombast was shot at me, which I transcribed also, word for word, in my Correo of the 20th of June, page 60, as an *historical piece*, under the heading "*Mosaico*;" limiting my reply to this verse of Casti:

E monsignore rispondea, capisco.

*Twenty-fourth of June, 1835*.—The circumstances just related, led me to suspect that some plot was going on in the President's cabinet against my tranquillity; and to avert as far as possible all

pretexts of persecution, I hastened to publish on the next day, 24th of June, in my *Correo*, page 62, an apologetic editorial, commencing thus:

"I owe to my subscribers and friends the following explanations," &c. ( 117 ) My judges will take notice, I trust, of this fact. But, scarcely had the paper come out from the press, when another friend came to inform me that a *serious* complaint on the part of the Bishop of Puebla, Señor Vasquez, had been made to President Santa Anna "for my having denied that the devil has ever been allowed to enter human bodies." The fact is this:

I had published in my *Correo* of the 13th May last, page 13, the following editorial:

"SATANIC QUESTION.—In these last days much has been spoken, and not without noise, of a girl thirteen years old, of the ward of Santa Cruz, being visited internally by Satan in the shape of a toad. This fact, the press has said, is attested by *persons of truth*. Two circumstances are, moreover, quoted, which leave no room to doubt it. First: That of the toad having guessed the number of dollars which a Don Ventura Sierra had in his pocket. Secondly: That of the toad having given us an idea of the language of the diabolic nation, by answering *ASEGUN* to all the intimations made to it to go out from the body of the girl. A lawyer, whose knowledge and virtues we duly appreciate, has observed to us, about this question, that if the soul, an incorporeal substance, commands *evidently* the human body, another incorporeal substance, or malignant spirit, can very well command both the body and the soul. We shall take no part in a question so important, because supernatural things, beyond the power of man, are not within the reach of our poor understanding. We shall limit ourselves, therefore, to relate on some other day, under a scientific aspect, and with the sole view of instructing ourselves, what the most profound psychologo-satanico-theologists have said about the existence, or the possibility of diabolic obsessions."

And so I did, in my *Correo* of the 27th May, page 31 ( \* ), without manifesting in any way at all my own opinions on this ludicrous subject; nor would I have taken the least notice of it, had it not found credit with the press, lawyers, and the most eminent *savants* of the capital. But was the editorial in question an offence to the Mexican Government or nation—a *political* question—an attempt to plunge the country into the horrors of anarchy?

The fact is, that I had no time again to apologize for having related what all the other papers of the country had been permitted to do. My expulsion was decreed on this very day, 24th of June, and my passport signed!!!

*Twenty-fifth of June, 1835.*—Early in the morning a tall, fat adjutant in uniform, called on me, and handed me politely the following note:

"GOVERNMENT OF THE FEDERAL DISTRICT—SECTION . . .

"Mr. O. de A. Santangelo shall present himself forthwith to this

Government with the same person that will deliver him this order, for an executive provision.

RAYON.

"S. J. ALCANTARA, *Secretary*. ( 118 )

"MEXICO, June 24th, 1835."

I went. The Governor, General Ramon Rayon, received me kindly, and, being left alone with him, who was also in full uniform, the following dialogue took place:

*Governor*—The Supreme Government orders me to hand you this passport.

*Myself*—I have solicited no passport. I am not disposed to travel.

*Governor*—You are ordered in it to leave this city within three days, and go to embark at Vera Cruz for foreign parts.

*Myself*—For what reason, sir?

*Governor*—I am not informed of it; but I think you ought not to have spoken of Texas in your paper.

*Myself*—I understand; this is a compliment from my friend Santa Anna.

*Governor*—Were you not one of the editors of the periodical "*La Oposicion*?"

*Myself*—I never wrote in any paper except in my "*Correo Atlantico*."

*Governor*—I have nothing else to say to you, except that in case of non-compliance with this order on your part, I am directed to employ force.

*Myself*—Does the Government know that I am a citizen of the United States, under the protection of the treaty of 1831?

*Governor*—This cannot have escaped the attention of the Supreme Government.

*Myself*—How can I put my affairs in order and get ready to start within three days, having a numerous school, a periodical widely circulated, a house with valuable furniture, a heavy baggage, a wife, accounts to settle . . . . .

*Governor*—I think you could obtain a delay should you not speak of American citizenship, treaties, or other exceptions indicating resistance or resentment. . . . .

*Myself*—To whom have I to address myself for a delay—to Barragan or Santa Anna?

*Governor*—To both; Barragan being the acting President, and Santa Anna the supreme law.

*Myself*—I thank you, General. I shall follow your friendly advice. I shall never forget your kindness.

*Governor*—Lose no time.

*Myself*—I wish your country a better fate. . . . .

We shook hands, and I retired with the resignation inspired by the impossibility of avoiding the blow. Santa Anna had long and well matured this step; it was then irrevocable . . . . . nor could I honorably solicit a revocation after the affront already received.



The passport received was thus conceived :

"No. 757—Recorded at fol. 226 of the 2d book of the Branch.

"FEDERAL MEXICAN REPUBLIC.

"The President of the Mexican United States grants free and secure passport to the foreigner O. de A. Santangelo, that he might, *within the third day from this date, leave this capital, and go to embark at Vera Cruz for foreign parts.* And orders all civil and military authorities of the nation not to oppose his transit, and to furnish him with the necessary succors, by paying them at their just prices.

"Palace of the Federal Government in Mexico, this 24th day of June, 1835, and the fifteenth year of the Independence.

"By order of His Excellency—The Secretary of State, and of the Despatch of Relations :

"JOSE MARIA ORTIZ MONASTERIO." ( 119 )

There being at the time no diplomatic agent of the United States in Mexico (Mr. Butler having left since some time that residence), I went directly from the Governor's office to that of the United States Consul, Mr. William S. Parrott, who, on being informed of the case, expressed his regret not to be able to interfere in it, he having, as a consul, no communication with the State Department, and his functions being limited only to *commercial* affairs; for which, said he, I had no better to do than *to submit to the violence*, and afterwards expose my grievances to our Government in Washington. The impossibility of all protection compelled me, then, to follow the advice of both the Mexican Governor and the American Consul, and try to draw, if possible, from my forced submission the advantage of a delay which might enable me to sustain the least harm possible from my expulsion, and enter at the same time a formal protest in the American Consulate against it.

I then returned home, and found my poor wife, entirely ignorant of what was passing, heartily engaged in teaching her school, then composed of sixty-one pupils. At this sight a strong palpitation of the heart made me stop almost petrified for a few moments in the middle of the school-room; and then, by a movement quite involuntary, I ran to embrace my wife, bathing her bosom with my tears, and announced to her and all her pupils that I was banished, and the school was terminated. I do not feel sufficiently able to describe the effect of that intimation. Torrents of tears flowed from the eyes of that innocent, grateful and numerous family. All of them, seized by a violent grief, fell upon me and my wife, embracing us tightly, kissing us, inundating us with their warm tears; the smallest ones clasping their arms around our knees, as if endeavoring to prevent us from going away, making the walls resound with their infantile sobs. This was a triumph of virtue over despotism. The arrival of some friends put an end to that affecting scene, and these disconsolate young beings left us, to go and endeavor to induce their parents

to unite together and find some means to prevent our departure from Mexico. Vain hopes of distressed simplicity!

I then took the pen, and wrote to Santa Anna this confidential note:

“MEXICO, 25th June, 1835.

“GENERAL: However surprising may have been to me the order of the Secretary of Relations, which has been communicated to me this morning, at eight o'clock, by the Governor of the District; however incredible may seem to me an order of banishment, at a moment in which you are at the head of the Government, and present in this capital, I shall not ask the revocation of the measure. At the advanced age of sixty-one, and after forty-five years of experience in *revolutionary* matters, which I have acquired at my own expense, nothing can prove strange to me, either in Mexico or in any other corner of the globe.

“But, do you wish, sir, solely to compel me to quit this Republic, or to cause also an entire ruin of my poor domestic interests, involving in it, at the same time, my young and innocent spouse?

“We are at present peacefully and very usefully employed at the head of an establishment of *sixty-one* young pupils of both sexes. At this very moment we are, then, compelled to dismiss them, and we will remain creditors of sums which form our subsistence, and which we are condemned to lose.

“We have a house filled with *valuable furniture*, and a piano-forte, the whole of which, in the impossibility of our carrying it away with us, must remain abandoned to the first occupant.

“I have advanced the expense of from sixteen to seventeen hundred dollars for the *establishment of a philosophical and instructive periodical*, which I had thought, in all good faith, fully to merit your protection; and to my great regret I must feel convinced that you have not even read it, for otherwise you would not permit the persecution of which I am about to be the object. This sum, the fruit of my honorable literary labors, will likewise be lost.

“I have to prepare my trunks, to pack up eight or ten boxes of books and other objects, to receive others which are at present in the hands of several workmen; but the whole must be left in the street!

“My consort, certainly not accustomed to leave a city where she is an object of general esteem, to travel like a *criminal* woman, is already in agony from the treatment with which we are favored, and will likely find a watery grave in the Mexican gulf, *in addition to my only son, who there fell a victim of my first and barbarous banishment in 1826!*

“In this state of things, ready to suffer all the rigor of my banishment, but extremely contented and satisfied with myself, as every honorable, just, and free man ought to be, I accept the passport which has been delivered to me, and I would only solicit from your Government fifteen days' time to make my preparations, and *such*

*means as are utterly indispensable to reach from this point, with my wife and baggage, a port whatever of the United States of America, my adopted country. This alone, and nothing else, is in expectation of from his ancient friend Santa Anna,*

"O. DE A. SANTANGELO.

"His Excellency Don Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna,  
President of the United Mexican States." (120)

I addressed, at the same time, to the Minister of Foreign Relations, a petition hastily conceived thus:

"TO HIS EXCELLENCY

THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN RELATIONS:

"O. de A. Santangelo, *a citizen of the United States*, has just received, through the Governor of the District, by order of his Excellency the President of the Republic, a passport with the order of leaving, within the third day (that is, the day after to-morrow, the 27th instant), this capital, with direction to the port of Vera Cruz, and there to embark for foreign parts. Although the justice of a measure, as unexpected as little merited, is not demonstrated; although the petitioner is not able to imagine the motives of it, still, accustomed to respect the laws, and even the faults of Governments, he will conform with it and go. But shall he be able, in the course of only forty-eight hours, to settle his accounts with the parents of sixty-one pupils of both sexes, who have attended since nearly two years the literary establishment of his wife; dispose of the large quantity of furniture of his house; recover what is due to him by a large number of subscribers to the "Correo Atlantico," a paper merely philosophical, and highly worthy (at least for its object) of public favor; prepare his trunks, pack up many boxes of books, and take all other necessary dispositions to perform a long and painful voyage with his young and respectable wife? The petitioner has just represented all this, in a letter of this same date, to the President, and does not doubt that it will be taken into consideration, and that fifteen days' time will be granted to him to execute his departure. This delay cannot prove prejudicial either to public or private interest. The only end of the Government seems to be to cause the petitioner to leave this Republic, and it will be punctually obeyed; but it certainly is not, nor can it be, that of destroying completely all his very limited personal and domestic interests. With this persuasion, the petitioner takes the liberty of addressing himself to your Excellency, praying you to have the goodness to bring his solicitation to the consideration of his Excellency the President, and to interpose your good offices in his behalf; for which he will remain extremely obliged to you.

"God and Liberty.

O. DE A. SANTANGELO. (120)

"MEXICO, June 25, 1835."

The above two letters being ready, I myself brought to the Governor the one addressed to the Secretary of State, who very civilly

returned no answer ; and Mrs. Santangelo, accompanied by an American gentleman, Mr. Aaron Leggett, went to present the other to Señor Santa Anna, in Tacubaya. She was obliged to wait four hours in the ante-chamber, during which she was told that his Excellency was sleeping . . . . . was working with the members of the cabinet . . . . . was at dinner . . . . . had gone out ; . . . . and then, advised by the Minister of War, Tornel, to address herself to the acting President, Barragan, she returned to the city, and went immediately to see this gentleman. He, however, had already received the necessary instructions, and then declared his inability to modify the orders of General Santa Anna, suggesting to Mrs. Santangelo to go again to Tacubaya.

*Twenty-sixth of June, 1835.*—Early in the morning of the next day, 26th of June, Mrs. Santangelo repaired again, with Mr. Leggett, to Tacubaya, and her second ante-chamber lasted from eight o'clock, A. M., to six o'clock, P. M. But she was now determined to see the Sultan, and he was at last obliged to show himself ; and here is faithfully related the dialogue of the interview :

*Santa Anna*—Who are you, Señora ?

*Mrs. Santangelo*—Madam Santangelo, sir.

*Santa Anna*—Are you the wife of Señor Santangelo ?

*Mrs. Santangelo*—You know us both very well, sir.

*Santa Anna*—What do you wish ?

*Mrs. Santangelo*—A decisive answer to this letter (handing my letter to him).

*Santa Anna*—(After a rapid glance at the letter)—I can do nothing in the case ; Señor Barragan is the acting President.

*Mrs. Santangelo*—Mr. Barragan says that he is nothing, and you are every thing.

*Santa Anna*—I shall speak to him. But one week delay is enough, I presume.

*Mrs. Santangelo*—It would not be enough to fold up my dresses, sir.

*Santa Anna*—The banishment does not extend to you, Señora.

*Mrs. Santangelo*—American ladies follow their husbands every where, in good or bad fortune.

*Santa Anna*—Stay with us, Señorita, you will enjoy my special protection.

*Mrs. Santangelo*—I want, as a woman, no other protection than that of my husband ; and, as an American, that of the treaty between my country and yours.

*Santa Anna*—That treaty is too old, Señora, (rising). I shall soon sign another in Washington, with the point of my sword.

*Mrs. Santangelo*—Good bye, sir, (and retired).

During the absence of my wife, considering that the Consul of my nation could and ought to do something in the case, I addressed to Mr. Parrott a long note, expressing that if there was ever a circumstance in which the *diplomatic* or *commercial* agent of a Go-

vernment must feel bound to protect an individual of his nation, cruelly trampled upon in the country where he resides, it was certainly that in which I called on him, there being at that moment no other representative of our Government in Mexico; that since nearly two years of my stay there, my conduct had been the most prudent and circumspect; that my establishment of education had caused me as much personal labor as pecuniary sacrifices, to bring it to the perfection which was now an object of general admiration; that for my "Correo Atlantico," limited to commerce, foreign politics, and literature, I had advanced a considerable sum, "without being now able to collect the price of the great number of subscriptions taken in the several States of the Republic, nor even of the greatest part of those which had been taken in the capital;" that, whilst I was about to gather some profit from so many expenses and so much labor, I was banished; that in vain I had endeavored to know the reason of such an oppression, some saying that I had ridiculed the nation in my paper, others that I had mocked at the *pronunciamiento* lately made in favor of centralism; others that I was accused of being one of the editors of the anti-ministerial journal, "La Oposicion," and many that I had taken the defence of the Texians: that I sent him two copies of the whole collection of the paper (Mr. Parrott was himself a subscriber to it), one for himself, and another to be forwarded to our Government in Washington, for the verification of said imputations, which I declared to be "false, unfounded, and shamelessly calumnious;" that if I had made some just and respectful observations on some *anonymous* letters from Monterrey and Matamoras, attributing atrocities, assassinations, rebellion, &c., to the *North-American* colonists of Texas, this neither concerned the *Government* nor the *politics* of the country, and "in my double capacity of an historian and a citizen of the United States, I had felt bound to refute falsehoods which could compromise the friendly intercourse between the two nations;" that my sudden banishment destroyed now my literary establishment, prevented my collecting what was due by the subscribers to my "Correo," rendered it impossible for me to dispose of my furniture, &c., and at the same time compelled me and my wife to go to be victims of the black vomit in Vera Cruz, as had happened in his presence to my son in 1826; that I had solicited the day before, from the acting Minister Monasterio, a delay of fifteen days, and had sent for the same purpose to Santa Anna, my wife, who had not been even permitted to see him; that in the mean time a "*few hours* only remained for me to decide either to leave in good will, or be dragged by a *military force*; and in either case to suffer a spoliation which would reduce me to the most extreme distress;" that I entreated him to interpose his offices to obtain for me a delay of fifteen days, to avoid, if not totally, at least in part, the losses with which I was threatened, and of which I solicited that "an equitable appraisement be made immediately, by three or four honorable Americans, to serve me as a title in support

of such claims as might be lawfully competent *in virtue of the existing treaties*;" that the insult was offered less to my person than to the nation he represented, &c.; and concluded, praying him to receive this letter in his Consulate, as a protest against a violence which was necessarily to produce my destruction and that of my family, and to represent the whole affair to our Government, &c. (121)

This letter was not answered, nor could Mr. Parrott do any thing, as he protested in a note written to me some days later, as we shall see. My wife returned late in the evening, extremely exhausted by fatigue and want of food, and without any resolution on my petition.

*Twenty-seventh of June, 1835.*—Accompanied by another American gentleman, Captain West (Mr. Leggett being indisposed), Mrs. Santangelo went early in the morning of the 27th June, to see again the acting President. He was making his toilet, and then Captain West alone was introduced to him. Another dialogue:

*Captain*—Mrs. Santangelo comes with me to inform you that General Santa Anna sends her again to you for your resolutions on the demand of her husband.

*President*—I shall go forthwith to Tacubaya, and the matter will be settled.

*Captain*—At all events, Mr. Santangelo wishes to go at his own expense, to embark at Matamoras, to avoid the dangers of Vera Cruz.

*President*—His passport cannot be changed.

*Captain*—He may die of the yellow fever.

*President*—Let him die.

*Captain*—His young wife could risk still more.

*President*—Let them die both.

*Captain*—They have a Mexican chamber-maid with them. . . .

*President*—Let them all die.

*Captain*—What answer have I to return to Mrs. Santangelo?

*President*—I go to Tacubaya, "*y veremos*," and we shall see. . . .

What a President, good God! Was he not a butcher!

Informed of the little consoling result of that interview, and fearing a surprise, I immediately sent, at eleven o'clock, for some Israelitish pawnbrokers, who were soon followed (*fama volat*) by some native and foreign schoolmasters, ladies, physicians, and all kinds of people. My house, kitchen, and school furniture, with a part of the objects I had brought from New-York, for the establishment of a lyceum in Mexico, was sold in a moment at nearly sixty per cent. loss on the just value—total loss upwards of \$2,000. The sale of my piano, a large assortment of music, a part of my books, some valuable pictures, and that part of the wearing apparel of my wife which was fit for Mexico and of no avail in foreign parts, such as blond mantillas and shawls, velvet, satin and blond dresses, peculiarly trimmed, expensive head-dresses, &c., caused another loss of not less than \$1,500, including the import of many valuable objects

stolen by the crowd, especially articles of china, silver plate, glass ware, &c. In the afternoon, nothing remained in my house but two small pine tables, two single wool mattresses, a rough bedstead, five wooden chairs, two brass candlesticks, a few pieces of kitchen furniture, and some common earthen ware, the whole of which things was afterwards left with our cook as a present.

*Twenty-eighth of June, 1835.*—On opening my eyes at day-break next day, 28th of June, and on my glancing at the bare walls of my bed-room, I felt as if I had been beaten down by robbers, and left naked in the middle of a forest. I took courage; and, always in expectation of a violent expulsion, I hastily engaged in packing up my luggage. In the evening, however, Captain West, accompanied by the good and honest Colonel Austin, of Texas, came to inform me, on the part of the President butcher, that I had the *verbal* permission of delaying my departure *a few days longer*, under the express condition that no noise, no publications through the press, no other publicity or *impropriety* whatever should take place, that might displease the Supreme Government. . . . .

*Third of July, 1835.*—I spent the days 29th and 30th of June, and the 1st and 2d days of July, in writing my journal, making accounts, preparations, and also in vain efforts to recover what was due to my boarding and day school, or to my "Correo," by many deaf subscribers in the city. A sepulchral silence reigned every where, and only soldiers were seen running about the city, catching Indians, mules, horses, &c., for the army, whilst the Government was imposing taxes and forced loans to face the expenses of the imminent expedition against Texas. I was apprized that on the same day in which my passport had been signed, the expulsion of the editor of the paper "La Oposicion" had been ordered, and the arrest of General Don Pablo Anaya executed. All my best friends had disappeared. Zavala had been cunningly sent as Ambassador to Paris, and Basadre to Berlin. General Mexia and ex-Vice-President Farias had emigrated to New-Orleans, and innumerable other patriots, especially members of the Congress of 1833, amongst whom was Señor Rejon, had absconded, or were flying from State to State. Pedraza was writing a good paper called "El Crepusculo," but the police could not discover the place of his abode. The country was but a vast galley under the lash of a pitiless overseer. No wonder, therefore, if not one single word was heard about my banishment. The press ought either to remain silent, or flatter the tyrant; and even silent editors were deemed to be guilty or suspected. . . . . Nor did I receive any visit on that occasion, except from some foreigners. Spies were walking day and night around my dwelling. . . . . But this very profound silence in regard to my expulsion, whilst keeping me in the vexatious curiosity of knowing the reasons or pretexts which had actuated the Executive of the Republic to order it, was evidently both a luminous evidence of my innocence, and an expression of general disapprobation far

more eloquent than the tumultuous attacks made on that Government when it ordered my first banishment in 1826.

The gentlemen requested to give, *under oath*, their opinion about the amount of the damages actually caused to me by this *second banishment* from Mexico, without any reference to those which were the result of my *first banishment* of July 1826, were two citizens of the United States, Messrs. Aaron Leggett, and J. Ysidoro Reed, and a Frenchman, Mr. C. Abadie; all of them well known to the Consul of the United States, and highly respectable and respected in the country. They took into consideration the breaking up of my boarding school in New-York; the costly objects which I had brought with me for the establishment of a lyceum in Mexico; my voyage with my wife, a chamber-maid, and a professor of natural sciences, besides the freight for the transportation of said objects, from New-York to New-Orleans; my long and expensive stay in that city during the prevalence of cholera morbus and the yellow fever, waiting for the orders of Santa Anna; my voyage and the transport of said objects, from New-Orleans to Vera Cruz; my forced stay in that port until I was permitted to advance into the interior of the country; our journey, four persons in all, from Vera Cruz to Mexico, by the stage; the transport of fifteen large boxes, containing said objects for the lyceum, on mules, and that of my piano on the cars of the *conducta*; my stay in Mexico vainly waiting for a proper locality for the establishment of said lyceum, falsely promised by the Government, until I was able to open at my own risk a private literary institute; the *trespass* paid for the house taken for this purpose; the expenses made for its establishment, including house and school furniture, which in Mexico is extremely dear; the loss of the actual profit from said institute with the certainty of a great increase; the loss of school money due by pupils; the advances made for the establishment of the "Correo Atlantico;" the loss of the actual and constantly increasing annual profit from the same; the actual loss of what was already due by subscribers to it; the loss just sustained from the hasty sale of my furniture and other objects on being banished; the expense I ought to meet for my voyage by land and sea from the city of Mexico to a port of the United States, three persons with a heavy baggage; the actual assault on my liberty and honor, and the exposure of my life and that of my family, to the evident danger of all of us falling victims to the yellow fever in Vera Cruz; the ruinous loss of time from the day of my removal from New-York to that of my quitting Mexico, in virtue of a despotic measure against the laws of the country and the treaty between Mexico and the United States, and up to the time in which I could draw from a new establishment in the United States a competent sustenance, &c. For which the abovenamed gentlemen were unanimously of opinion that the amount of the damages produced by this my second banishment from Mexico, could not be estimated at a less sum than *one hundred thousand dollars*.



Although this estimate was evidently far below the just amount, still there being no time for discussions, and reserving a better calculation I had the right of making, I hastily adopted it, and entered accordingly in the Consulate of the United States, the following formal protest:

“CONSULATE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,  
FOR THE CITY OF MEXICO:

“By this public instrument of protest, be it known to all to whom these presents shall come:

“That on this day, 3d of July, 1835, before me, William S. Parrott, Consul of the United States of America, for the city of Mexico, has personally appeared, in the office of my Consulate, O. de A. Santangelo, to me well known as a citizen of the United States, and being duly sworn, he has declared, and does declare, affirm and protest:

“That having repaired in April, 1833, to Mexico, for the purpose of claiming from the General Government of the country an indemnity of about thirty thousand dollars, due to him for many prejudices and damages caused to him, in 1826, by a scandalous and notorious abuse of power on the part of said Government, in consequence of which he, the said O. de A. Santangelo, had also lost his only son Francis de Attellis Santangelo; and not having been able to ask justice from the Mexican Congress on account of the country having been, since that period, in perpetual convulsions and civil wars, he was obliged to establish a literary institute for the moral and scientific education of youth of both sexes; for which he had previously obtained a written authorization from the Corporation of the city, called Ayuntamiento, and the Governor of the District, General Ignacio Martinez; and the said establishment was now flourishing so as to produce a revenue of above *six thousand dollars per annum*, with the strongest evidence of its becoming daily more and more profitable.

“That he, the said O. de A. Santangelo, had commenced, on the 1st of May last, the publication of a semi-weekly polyglot, commercial, political and literary newspaper, under the title of ‘El Correo Atlantico,’ to which the General Government itself was a *subscriber* for twelve copies; and for the establishment and first publication of which, up to its sixteenth number, he has spent a sum of not less than *one thousand seven hundred dollars*, without his having had the necessary time to recover the money already due to him from numerous subscribers in many distant States of the Mexican Union.

“That whilst the above business was peacefully, honorably and profitably going on, *waiting for a better opportunity of presenting his aforesaid claims to the Mexican Congress*, he the said O. de A. Santangelo, has suddenly received on the 25th of the last month of June, from the Governor of the District, General Ramon Rayon, a passport signed by the Provisional Minister of Foreign Affairs, José Maria Ortiz Monasterio, containing an order to leave this city in the

space of three days, to go to Vera Cruz, and to embark for foreign parts, being moreover threatened verbally by said Governor that, in case of non-compliance, *force would be used*.

"That the order having been issued without any judiciary form, or knowledge of the diplomatic or commercial agents of the United States of America, or *any known motive at all*, but for the undersigned having perhaps displeased *the present absolute ruler of the Mexican destinies*, by having defended, in the numbers thirteenth and fourteenth (of said Correo), *the innocence of the American colonists of Texas*, against the most infamous calumnies of some of the public writers amongst the natives, as it will be seen by the entire collection from the first to the sixteenth number, presented in the Consulate in duplicate, and the *arbitrary* proceedings of the Mexican Government *towards foreigners in general, and American citizens in particular*, being highly injurious to all nations, and in this case openly destructive of the article 112, and others of the *Constitution* of this country, and of the articles 14th and 15th of the treaty of amity, commerce and navigation, concluded on the 5th of April, 1831, between the United States of America and the United Mexican States, it is indispensable for the cabinet, Congress, justices, public press and the people at large of the United States, to take the most efficient and speedy measures to contain this people and Government within just bounds, and to protect the property, lives and honor of our fellow-citizens, against the innumerable and unceasing *offences* they have sustained, in spite of public and private morality, the law of nations and the abovementioned treaty.

"For this reason of *public interest*, and because the undersigned is personally the victim of a treatment that causes the most ruinous effects to his *liberty*, his *property*, and his *honor*, and puts evidently in danger his *life*, and *that of his wife*, a native of Pennsylvania, being both compelled by a *Mexican despot* to go and embark at Vera Cruz, at a time when the *yellow fever* is making the most horrible ravages in that port—

"The undersigned does declare, and most solemnly protests:

"1st. That his illegal and mysterious banishment prevents him from deducing his *action for redress and indemnification* for the amount of about *thirty thousand dollars* abovementioned.

"2dly. That the same banishment causes to him the spoliation of a rent of above *six thousand dollars per annum*, the produce of his literary institute, *now in action* under the direction of his wife Marietta de A. Santangelo, Refugio street, No. 13, in the city of Mexico.

"3dly. That he is deprived likewise, by the same act of violence, of a sum of more than *two thousand dollars* he had employed under the safeguard of the treaty, and of the laws of hospitality, for the first establishment of the said institute, and is at once prevented from recovering even the small sum of *nearly four hundred dollars* due to him by some of his pupils of both sexes.

"4thly. That his banishment causes him to lose a sum of not less than *one thousand seven hundred dollars* he had employed for the establishment of his Atlantic Courier, without even leaving him the time to receive the amount of nearly *two thousand dollars* due to him by numerous subscribers in the different States.

"5thly. That not having been allowed sufficient time to sell his valuable furniture at its fair value, another loss of *above two thousand dollars*, is to him the result of the atrocious treatment of which he is the unfortunate victim.

"6thly. That having received no aid, or help at all from the Mexican Government for the execution of so long, painful, costly and dangerous travel from this city to any of the ports of the United States of America, he, the undersigned, and his wife have been obliged to sell almost all their *personal apparel*, at an evident loss of more than *one thousand and five hundred dollars*, to employ this sum in a forced journey which they never desired nor merited.

"The undersigned protests, therefore, against the Mexican Government, and before the Government of the United States of America, that, by the abovementioned facts, he is legally and fully entitled to an indemnity of not less than *one hundred thousand dollars*, according to the judgment of the undersigned gentlemen, who have been respectfully requested to give their *free and conscientious* opinion of the matter.

"And moreover he formally requires his present protest to be received and filed in the protocols of the Consulate of the United States of America, in this city.

"Finally, he further and solemnly protests against the Mexican Government for any other probable or possible damages, prejudices and losses that *may hereafter result* from his cruel, unjust, and unlawful banishment, either to himself or to his wife or servants in their common or respective property, as well as in their liberty, health, life and honor, in case of a highway robbery, murder, sickness, death from pestilence, shipwreck, or any other accident whatever.

"O. DE A. SANTANGELO."

"In testimony, whereof, and in compliance with the request of O. de A. Santangelo, a citizen of the United States of America, I herewith set my hand and seal of office, in the city of Mexico, the day and year above written.

"Copy from Record."

"WILLIAM S. PARROTT. ( 122 )

The declaration of the gentlemen named in the preceding protest, as appraisers of the amount of the damages mentioned therein, was the following:

"CONSULATE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,  
FOR THE CITY OF MEXICO:

"Be it remembered, that C. Abadie, a Frenchman, Aaron Leggett and J. Ysidoro Reed, citizens of the United States of America, well known to me, personally appeared in my office, and made

oath to the following, subscribed to by each, the original of which is lodged in this Consulate. With a full knowledge of the circumstances of the forcible and unjust expulsion of Mr. Oracio de A. Santangelo, a citizen of the United States, from this city and country, and obliging him to embark from the port of Vera Cruz, at a time when the yellow fever is raging violently there:

“We, the subscribers, citizens of the United States, and France, do hereby certify that, according to our unbiased judgment, the damages and losses sustained by Mr. Santangelo *cannot be estimated at a less sum than one hundred thousand dollars.*”

“C. ABADIE,

“AARON LEGGETT,

“J. YSIDORO REED.

“MEXICO, *July 3, 1835.*”

“In testimony whereof I hereunto set my hand and seal of office, in the city of Mexico, this third day of July, in the year one thousand eight hundred and thirty-five. “WM. S. PARROTT. (123)

“Copy from Record.”

The two foregoing documents were sent to me, in authentic form, in the afternoon, together with a note of the same date, 3d July, from Mr. Leggett, which shows the terror, under which our fellow-citizens were laboring at the time, in Mexico, thus conceived:

“MEXICO, *July 3, 1835.*

“O. DE A. SANTANGELO:

“SIR: I am sorry to return your protest with the name of only one American besides my own, affixed to the certificate annexed to it. I showed it to several Americans and others, all of whom very freely expressed their opinions of the *injustice* of your banishment, and of its ruinous effects, and that *the amount of indemnity was not too large*; nevertheless all and every one that I saw and conversed with, very reluctantly desired to be excused from putting his name to the certificate, saying, that as they were *settled in business*, and some with *Mexican families*, it would be exposing them *to like cruelty and injustice that you are now suffering*, and *through fear* they dare not put their names to the certificate, although they thought it perfectly just. The reason of their excuses you will duly appreciate, as you so *well know the power and influence which reign*. I can assure you that not a single individual declined to sign the certificate, but with earnest expressions of regret, that seeing it *just*, yet they dare not do it *through fear* of the Government, and of being injured in some way or other in their business. Wishing you a safe journey and passage to New-Orleans, or such place as you may embark for, I am, respectfully, your assured friend,

“AARON LEGGETT.” (124)

What a respectable Government! What a happy, free and enlightened country! What a brave and courageous people! Could Santangelo deserve the honor of living amongst them? Were

not Messrs. Van Buren, Forsyth & Co., perfectly right in paying their adorations and submissive homage to that dear, amiable and blessed *sister* Republic? Are not the citizens of the United States, who have claims on Mexico, justly immolated by their own Government to those deities of Anahuac?

The Consul of the United States, Mr. Parrott, had the goodness to send me, under the same date, of the 3d July, a passport, registered at fol. 16, No. 36, to avail myself of it whenever and wherever it was not convenient for me to show the honorable signature of the Secretary of State, Monasterio. ( 125 )

*Sixth of July, 1835.*—I acknowledged the receipt of an authentic copy of the protest entered in the Consulate of the United States, on the 3d instant, through the following letter to the Consul:

“MEXICO, *July 6th, 1835.*

“TO WILLIAM S. PARROTT:

“CONSUL OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,  
FOR THE CITY OF MEXICO:

“DEAR SIR: I have thankfully received the legal copy of my protest for redress, damages, &c., that I had the honor to leave with you to be filed in the protocols of your Consulate: but I had forgotten to ask you what answer you have received from the Mexican Government, with respect to its having *violated*, so openly in my case the article xiv of the treaty of amity, commerce and navigation, between the United States of America and the Mexican United States, concluded on the 5th April, 1831, and conceived thus: [the article is transcribed]. I do not doubt, sir, of your having employed all means lying in your power, and within the bounds of your attributions, to cause the Mexican Government to respect the above mentioned treaty, of which it cannot be ignorant. I am likewise persuaded of your considering this question as concerning, not my case or person alone, but the personal security and the dearest interests of *all our countrymen*, settled, as I was, in this country. But I think to have also the right of becoming acquainted, before my leaving this country, through your *official* intervention, both with the *motives of my expulsion* and with the reasons, by which said Government, be in its fancy the motives of its conduct whatever they may, intends to justify the *violation* of the article xiv of the treaty above transcribed.

“I am, sir, very respectfully, your most obedient servant,

“O. DE A. SANTANGELO.” ( 126 )

The answer was this:

“CONSULATE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, }  
“MEXICO, *July 6th, 1835.* }

“O. DE A. SANTANGELO, ESQ.—*Mexico:*

“SIR: Your note of this date, requesting to know what answer the Mexican Government had given in relation of the *violation* of the article xiv of the treaty existing between the United States of

America and the Mexican United States, *in your person*, has been received. You seem to have mistaken the character of my representation here. I am nothing but a consul; have no *right* or *instructions* to communicate with this Government, and the more especially in matters emanating from it; nor *would it receive my communications*. The matter is to be regretted, and the remedy can only be found when our Government has a *diplomatic agent* here.

"I am, dear sir, most respectfully, your obedient servant,

"WILLIAM S. PARROTT." ( 126 )

NOTE.—Mr. Parrott was perfectly right, if not in law, at least in fact. He was, long before his appointment as Consul of the United States in Mexico, a merchant having extensive business with a great number of influential Mexican houses. In the *terror* which reigned there at the period of my expulsion, he would have met with serious evils, both in his property and person, had he opposed the will of Cæsar; and in fact, victim himself, a little later, of the brutality of the Mexican Government, he is now one of the unfortunate claimants under the Convention of the 11th April, 1839. This teaches all Governments never to trust their representation in foreign countries to individuals, that, on account of their personal engagements in commercial business, could not energetically comply with their *official* duties, without exposing themselves to certain ruin. All commercial or diplomatic agents in foreign lands ought to be *independent* of all subjection or influence that might prevent them from showing their teeth, when necessary, in support of those national or *individual* rights, with the guardianship of which they have been trusted. In my case, *the reasons of my banishment being utterly unknown*, I do not see why a *commercial* agent ought not to have interfered in my behalf. Was I not a merchant? Was I not selling knowledge to the ignorant, and newspapers to the public? Is not mental industry a *commercial* branch? Ought the condition of a dealer in cod-fish, brandy or cabbages, be better protected than that of a man who sells the produce of his own studies and talents? Let our consuls and *soi disant statesmen* study political economy, and they will learn that *knowledge*, when bought and sold, is nothing but a *merchandise*, truly important, inasmuch as it is the only pillar on which the true wealth of nations reposes. My trade was disturbed in 1835, by two land pirates, called *Santa Anna* and *Monasterio*, constituting a Government. A French consul would have asked immediate redress in my behalf, or his passport.

*Seventh of July, 1835.*—Here I wish to lay before the judges of my claims, and the public, a letter written in my favor by a gentleman whose impartiality cannot be suspected, and whose morality was an axiom among the Mexicans themselves. This letter, not delivered, is in my power.

"CITY OF MEXICO, *July 7th, 1835.*

"DEAR SIR: The bearer of this, Mr. O. de A. Santangelo, has

been banished from this country, by an order from the *Executive* of the United Mexican States. In union with Mrs. Santañelo, he had established a *literary institution* in this city for the education of *both sexes*, which was *flourishing*, and had obtained a *highly respectable reputation*. I know *nothing* of the cause of his banishment, except from common rumor, which says that it is for having inserted *something* offensive in the 'Correo Atlantico,' a newspaper edited by him. This *sudden* and *unexpected* measure has of course *broken up* his school, and involved him in a *pecuniary* loss, by the *forced sale* of his furniture, books, &c. It has also deranged all his means of procuring a *subsistence* in this country, where, as a citizen of the United States, he says he calculated on *protection* under the treaty between the two nations. He is therefore compelled to seek employment elsewhere. Should it be in your power to render him any friendly assistance by introducing him to your friends, you will oblige your most obedient servant,

S. F: AUSTIN.

"To H. Meigs, Esq., New-York." (127)

*Ninth of July, 1835.*—The Governor had now urged me to leave his District forthwith. The road from Mexico to Vera Cruz was infested by robbers, and scarcely a *diligencia* (stage) escaped their rapacity, whilst the convoys of beasts of burden passed, with few exceptions, unmolested. I had, on the other hand, to fear on my transit a *personal* assault from emissaries of Santa Anna, who, conscious of his treacherous and ungrateful conduct towards me, would probably snatch from my hands his past epistolary correspondence with me, or any other documents of his base perfidy. These considerations led me to leave with Messrs. Manning & Marshall, of Mexico, eight large packages to be sent by them on mules to Vera Cruz, and thence to the United States. I then took with me a few clothes and some gold, and enclosed, of course, in those packages every other valuable object I and my wife possessed, besides a sum of eighteen hundred dollars in silver. I moreover left my wife behind, to cause my executioners to believe that I was still in town, and thus disconcert any plan of assault on the road; and, assuming a false name, suddenly and secretly started on the night of from the 8th to the 9th of July, and safely reached Xalapa in three days. There my wife, with her chamber-maid, joined me within a few days, in company with Colonel Austin, on his way to Texas. She put me in possession of two letters of recommendation, with which Mr. Leggett had favored us, and are still in my power. Considering them as forming a part of the testimony in support of my claim, I have filed them amongst my documents, and here submit to the public a literal copy of them:

"MEXICO, July 10th, 1835.

"WILLIAM EMERSON, Esq.

"ESTEEMED FRIEND: With much pleasure I introduce to your acquaintance my friend Mr. O. de A. Santangelo, who has been

*cruelly and unlawfully* banished, although an *American citizen*, by the Supreme Mexican Government, and with his wife embarks in the next packet for New-York. Mr. Santangelo and his wife have been engaged in establishing, and *very successfully*, a *large literary institute* in this city, and recently they added to their useful labors a *semi-weekly paper*. Mr. Santangelo had been a correspondent and a confidential friend of General Santa Anna; but political changes led to a coolness, and this banishment is *the product of the jealousy of the latter*. Mr. Santangelo intends going to Washington to present his case to our Government, and to endeavor to obtain a just indemnity for this *ruinous, unjust and illegal* act, by which he is a *great sufferer*, and the *rights of every American invaded*. Mr. Santangelo is a gentleman of merit, and of high respectability, and his wife (a Philadelphian) is a lady of superior acquirements, and their banishment is considered by the liberal and enlightened part of the most respectable circles in this city as a *public loss*. Any advice or assistance you can render him in properly presenting himself at Washington with his complaints, or that he may need in New-York in making newspaper publications, and in becoming acquainted with suitable persons to assist in arousing public attention to the *cruelty and barbarous acts of an unjust and corrupt Government*, will be doing a kindness and adding to many obligations of, respectfully, your assured friend,

“AARON LEGGETT.” ( 128 )

“MEXICO, July 12th, 1835.

“ DOCTOR HITCHCOCK,

*Health Physician, Staten Island :*

“ RESPECTED FRIEND: This will be handed to you by Mr. O. de A. Santangelo, who with his wife goes to Vera Cruz, and thence to New-York, and consequently must be subject to our quarantine laws. Mr. Santangelo is a gentleman of high respectability, and is a citizen of the United States. Mrs. Santangelo is a Philadelphia lady of high esteem. They have been engaged in establishing a *literary institute* in this city, which was very profitable and flourishing; and also in establishing a semi-weekly paper. Mr. Santangelo is suddenly and *without cause* banished from this country by order of the Supreme Government, and was ordered to leave in *three days* from the 25th ultimo; the interference of Mrs. S. and myself with General Santa Anna, General Barragan the acting President, and Mr. Tornel the Secretary of War, obtained a *few days’* indulgence, to enable Mr. S. to sell his effects, by which to raise means to defray their expenses to New-York. His intention is to proceed direct to Washington to present his case to our Government, and I have to solicit of you to extend towards Mr. and Mrs. Santangelo and their servant woman, every indulgence that the law will admit, in prosecuting their journey; and if the circumstances under which the vessel may arrive at quarantine, shall make it ne-



cessary for them to remain at Staten Island, that you extend to them such civilities as your public duties will permit. I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you in October next, and regret that a whole year has passed since I have been in this city, and I have done nothing except to witness that the Mexican Government, in all its branches, is *corrupt and ignorant, unprincipled and unjust, disregarding the treaties with other nations and the rights of strangers,* and going on headlong into *ruin, bankruptcy and despotism.*

"Respectfully, your old friend and acquaintance,

"AARON LEGGETT." (129)

A letter also was handed me, under the same date, of Mexico, 12th July, addressed by Messrs. Manning & Marshall of that city to Messrs. Hermann & Co. in New-Orleans, about my eight packages, in the following terms:

"GENTLEMEN: The bearer of this letter is Mr. Santangelo, for whom we have forwarded to Vera Cruz eight *packages* of luggage, with direction to our firm there to ship them to your address. You will receive from Messrs. Manning, Marshall & Co., a note of the expenses thereon, on the payment of which, and your own charges, have the goodness to deliver the luggage to Mr. Santangelo.

"We remain, gentlemen, your most obedient servants,

"For MANNING & MARSHALL.

"A. GRANT." (130)

*Twentieth of July, 1835.*—To avoid as far as possible the danger of an attack of the yellow fever, actually ravaging the city of Vera Cruz, I stopped in Xalapa, and wrote under date of July 17th a note to Messrs. Manning, Marshall & Co., of that place, entreating them to contract there for my passage to New-Orleans, and make me acquainted with the day fixed for the departure, in order to repair there in time, and embark immediately, without exposing myself and family to catch the reigning epidemic; to which said gentlemen returned the following answer:

"VERA CRUZ, *July 20th, 1835.*

"MR. O. DE A. SANTANGELO, *Xalapa:*

"DEAR SIR: By the last mail we addressed you a few lines, acknowledging the receipt of your letter of the 17th. The present is now reduced to inform you that we have contracted for two berths for you and your lady, and another for your servant, in the brig *Wanderer*, Captain Welsh, for *one hundred and thirty dollars* the three places, from Vera Cruz to the Balize, whence you will go in a steamboat to New-Orleans, *at your own expense*, (ten dollars each). This bargain has been concluded in the intelligence that you must find yourselves here on Saturday morning, the 25th instant, on which day the vessel will sail for the abovementioned point.

"We repeat ourselves to be, your true servants, who kiss your hands,

"MANNING, MARSHALL & Co." (121)

*Twenty-third of July, 1835.*—My passage was accordingly paid by said gentlemen, on my account, and the receipt was delivered, as follows:

“Received of Messrs. Manning, Marshall & Co., the sum of one hundred and thirty dollars, for the passage on board of the brig Wanderer, Capt. Welsh, of Mr. Santangelo, his lady and a chamber-maid.

“\$130.

“MUNOZ MATFELT.

“VERA CRUZ, *July 3d, 1835.*” (132)

*Twenty-seventh of July, 1835.*—I was ready with my family to embark in Vera Cruz, on the morning of the 25th, as warned by Messrs. Manning, Marshall & Co., through their note of the 20th. But the vessel did not sail until the 27th, and the consequence of this was, that both my wife and her chamber-maid were attacked by the yellow fever, which developed itself on the first days of August, in the middle of that very gulf, which had been, in 1826, the tomb of my dear and only son. The attack was however mild enough to permit the sufferers to be placed, on our landing in New-Orleans, under the care of the skilful German physician, Dr. Halphen, whose bill is filed in my documents. (133)

*Thirteenth of August, 1835.*—The “Bee,” of New-Orleans, had given, on the 12th of August, a mistaken idea of my banishment from Mexico, from some communication from its badly informed correspondents in that country; and, after having rectified it, on the 13th, the editors said:

“We smiled at an anecdote told us yesterday by a former intimate of Santa Anna. He was endeavoring to prevail on our informant to write articles in his behalf for the journals in Europe and this country, and that he would have them distributed through Mexico, where, he said, they would make a much greater impression than any article or documents published at home. It would then appear to the Mexicans that it was the belief of foreign nations that Santa Anna could and should wield the destinies of the Mexican nation, and that the choice was one of policy and prudence, as of necessity. He would foment disturbances at home, to make the extraneous or external advice of more effect: ‘for,’ added he, ‘I wish to appear as a *virgin* more desired than seeming to desire.’ Such was the policy of Cromwell and Napoleon, and such is the scheme of the desires of the desirer of the Mexican Government—the *virgin* President!

“We publish the following documents, to awaken the attention of the General Government and the public to the melancholy condition of the American citizens resident in Mexico. It appears that the Mexican Government rules them with a rod of iron; that a law of its Congress has been made in open and direct violation of an article of the treaty with this Government; and that our fellow-citizens there are left without any redress, in consequence of the departure of the American Chargé d’Affaires. The system of proscription is

so rigid, that even the Americans themselves are each afraid of acting in unison, knowing their paucity and weakness. Indeed we learn that the system of *espionage* and oppression on the part of the Mexican Government, individual and general, was the true reason for Colonel Butler's leaving Mexico. It is time for the American Government to consider minutely and maturely our relations with Mexico." ( 134 )

NOTA.—The documents mentioned in this editorial, were, my protest, the sworn declaration of Messrs. Abadie, Leggett and Reed, and the letter of Mr. Leggett, all dated July 3d; and my note to Mr. Parrott, and his answer, both dated the 6th—useless publications!

*Nineteenth of October, 1835.*—Thanks to Providence, I was far from the Mexican shores, but uneasy for the non-appearance of my eight trunks. Nearly two months and a half had elapsed since my arrival at New-Orleans, without receiving the trunks, nor the least information about them. I had every harm to expect from the fell ribaldry of the Mexican President; and in fact my presentiments proved well founded. By the brig "Manilla," which cast anchor in that port in the night of the 18th of October, I received early in the morning of the 19th, the following letter:

(" Per Manilla. )

" VERA CRUZ, August 18th, 1835.

" O. DE A. SANTANGELO, New-Orleans :

" SIR : We have the pleasure to inform you that we have shipped by the present opportunity to Messrs. Hermann & Co., Y. Z. X. eight trunks luggage, received from Mexico on your account. This is the first vessel that has offered since your departure, they not having arrived in time for the 'Correo de Tampico.' You will perhaps remember these things were delivered to E. Vasquez; this *arriero* (muleteer) was embargoed in Puebla, and despatched by the Government with his *recua* (drove of mules) to Chihuahua (near Texas). To prevent a disappointment, he delivered your trunks to a *friend*, who brought them down here; but on the road, six of his mules were carried away *by a torrent*, and unfortunately *two* of your trunks with them, which, with *considerable difficulty*, were subsequently recovered. Your wearing apparel he had *washed* and *dried*, but the books are *considerably damaged*. We endeavored to make the *arriero* answerable for the *loss sustained*, and finally agreed to a deduction of thirty-six dollars in his freight, which we trust may prove *satisfactory*. The *arriero in Chihuahua* is the only *responsible* person in the matter. We annex note of disbursements on your account, together forty dollars, which we shall feel obliged by your paying to Messrs. Hermann & Co., on account of our Mexican establishment.

" We remain with respect, sir, your most obedient servants,

" For MANNING, MARSHALL & Co.,

" DANIEL PRICE."

( Follows the note of disbursements. ) ( 135 )

This sum of forty dollars, together with the freight of the eight trunks by the Manilla, the permission of the custom-house, cartage, &c., formed the amount of seventy-four dollars and eighty-five cents, which I paid to Messrs. Hermann & Co., on the presentation of their bill of the same date, 19th of October, ( 126 )

The trunks were then brought to my house, covered with bagging, and tied with ropes, whilst I was not in; and on my coming home, I found six of them broken open. My anxiety was indescribable; they were pillaged of every thing valuable; a large segar box, marked "Mexican papers," had disappeared, and all my books and manuscripts had been wet, and reduced to a fetid mass of putrefaction. I had every thing taken out immediately from the trunks, when Mr. Gustavus Smith, a respectable lawyer of the place, happened to pay me a visit, witnessed that spectacle, and heard my inconsolable lamentations, and those of my good wife. His *affidavit* will be transcribed here, under date of January 30th, of the present year.

*Twenty-first of October, 1835.*—I shall here transcribe a letter which I wrote, dated October 21st, to Messrs. Manning, Marshall & Co., of Vera Cruz:

"GENTLEMEN: Your favor of the 18th of August ultimo, has duly come to hand, by which you inform me that the *arriero* E. Vasquez, whom your correspondents, Messrs. Manning & Marshall of Mexico, had trusted with my eight trunks, was embargoed in Puebla, on his way to Vera Cruz, and despatched *by the Government* with his *recua* to Chihuahua; that he delivered, then, my trunks to 'a friend,' who brought them down to Vera Cruz; that on the road six of his mules were carried away by a *torrent*, and two of my trunks with them; that my wearing apparel he, the *friend*, had washed and dried; that the books were *considerably damaged*; that you endeavored to make the *arriero* answerable for the loss sustained; that, finally, you agreed to a deduction of *thirty-six dollars* from his freight, which you trust may prove *satisfactory*; and that the *arriero* in Chihuahua (at five hundred leagues distance) is the *only* responsible person in the matter, &c.

"I think, gentlemen, that Messrs. Manning & Marshall, of Mexico, to whom I consigned my eight trunks on my leaving that city, ought to claim, not against the *arriero*, who was *forcibly obliged by the Government* to abandon my trunks to other not responsible and *unknown* persons, but *against the Government itself*, for having seized an *arriero* and his mules while transporting the only fortune of an innocent and oppressed foreigner, who, banished by it, had an indisputable right to have his baggage brought *in security* to the place of his destination. But, does not the fact alone of the name of the pretended *friend*, to whom the embargoed Vasquez is said to have delivered my trunks, having remained *unknown* to me and to yourself, suffice to convince you and your correspondents in Mexico, that the whole transaction was an intrigue? I have now the honor of informing you that not *two* trunks, as you say, but *six* out of the

eight I have found *broken open*; that they have been plundered of all valuable objects, to the amount of *upwards of three thousand dollars*; that as to my wearing apparel, and that of my wife, it has been partly stolen, partly unskillfully wet, to give a color of truth to the tale of the *torrent*; that the circumstance of there being no *torrents* on that road, cannot be unknown to you; that not only my books are *considerably damaged*, but all my numerous and precious *manuscripts*, family papers, important documents, &c., horribly ruined; that a box containing exclusively 'Papeles Mejicanos' (Mexican papers) has *disappeared*, &c. What is then a deduction of *thirty-six dollars* on the freight? Is not such an indemnity at least as ridiculous as the story of the *torrent*? But you know nothing about this; you only have repeated the tale as related to you by the *friend*; and I cannot complain but of another *good friend*, under whose infernal grasp your unhappy country is now laboring. I would only entreat you to make me acquainted with the name of the *friend*, which does not appear *from any of your bills for money paid to him and others on my account*, and which I have reimbursed here to Messrs. Hermann & Co., by your order. This favor will greatly oblige your most obedient servant,

"O. DE A. SANTANGELO." (137)

This letter was never answered.

*Twenty-third of October, 1835.*—I had prepared a statement of this new infamous trick of the Mexican despot to have it published in the "Bee;" but, having shown it to Mr. G. Schmidt, on the 23d of said month of October, for his corrections of my bad English, he advised me not to publish it, but only to "apply to our Government for redress;" which he likewise certifies in his *affidavit*. But, as it contains a detail of the articles stolen, and the manuscripts stolen or destroyed, I think it proper to give it a place here.

"TO THE EDITORS OF THE NEW-ORLEANS BEE:

"GENTLEMEN: The following occurrence will throw a new light on the character of the famous Santa Anna, the Mexican President.

"Banished by him, as you know, in June last, from Mexico, I was obliged to leave behind eight trunks with Messrs. Manning & Marshall, of that city, to be forwarded by them to their correspondents Messrs. Manning, Marshall & Co., at Vera Cruz, and shipped by the latter for New-Orleans, where I had proposed to go.

"As the *diligencias* (stages) were almost daily assaulted by robbers on the road from Mexico to Vera Cruz, and the beasts of burden commonly untouched, I had placed in those trunks all that I possessed of some value, taking with me only some money in gold, a small quantity of clothes for myself and my wife, and a few papers. Said trunks, however, did not make their appearance here until the 18th instant, brought by the schooner *Manilla*, and consigned to Messrs. Hermann & Co., of this city, from whom I have received

them, together with a letter from Messrs. Manning, Marshall & Co., of Vera Cruz, dated 18th of August, and stating that the *arriero* (mulateer), E. Vasquez, who had received my trunks in Mexico, had been embargoed in Puebla *by the Supreme Government*, and despatched with his *recua* (drove of mules) to Chihuahua; that Vasquez, to prevent a disappointment, had delivered my trunks to a *friend* (not named), who had on his way six of his mules carried away by a *torrent* with *two* of my trunks; that my wearing apparel had been washed and dried (consequently my trunks broken open), but my books were *considerably damaged*; that a deduction of *thirty-six dollars* had been made on the freight, which they thought to be *satisfactory*; and that the *arriero* in Chihuahua (Vasquez) was the only responsible person in the matter.

"The anxiety which this communication caused me can more easily be imagined than expressed. I instantly suspected that the damage was much greater than insinuated by the letter. I knew of no *torrents* on the road from Puebla to Vera Cruz; and although there was then question of an expedition against Texas, still in my eyes there was little likelihood that mules and mulateers, engaged in commercial services on the great commercial road between Mexico and Vera Cruz, should be seized there, and despatched to five hundred leagues distance for military purposes. The statement of the letter involved a mystery. . . . Santa Anna, who had entertained from 1826 to 1833 a delicate epistolary correspondence with me, laboring now under unpleasant apprehensions in consequence of his perfidy towards me, ought to try all means to snatch from the hands of his loathed and feared victim all those arms which, at whatever distance from him, might have detected his knavery. The concealment of the name of the *friend* was, on the other hand, not insignificant. . . . In fact, on my inspecting the trunks, my suspicions were found to be but too well grounded. Not *two* trunks alone, but *six* out of eight, had been broken open. The *friend*, having no guide to know in which of them papers could be found of an important nature, opened *six* of them, sparing only two, whose rough appearance with the exterior inscription, *school and scientific books*, was not tempting. He did not even limit his war to my papers; he wished to secure for his trouble a better reward than that which he could expect from his master; and it was on the other hand a very easy task to plunder, with full impunity, the property of an absent and *banished* foreigner. He, therefore, commenced his noble performance by helping himself to eighteen hundred dollars in silver, a small but precious collection of minerals, another of Asiatic and European ancient moneys and medals I had brought from Europe, and for which I had been offered six hundred dollars; all my jewels and those of my wife, and our table silver; the best part of our wearing apparel and house linen; a pair of rich saddle pistols from Versailles, an opera glass, two pairs of silver spurs, a Mexican bridle mounted in silver, a compass, three silver tumblers,

a pair of old gold epauletts, &c. He likewise abstracted a large segar box, on which were marked the words *Mexican papers* (containing exclusively my accounts relating to my literary institute and the 'Correo Atlantico'), thinking perhaps to have thus conquered the golden-fleece. And then he achieved the work of destruction, by throwing water on every thing else he deemed unworthy of his rapacity; such as family papers, personal documents, a large quantity of manuscripts (many of which were ready for the press), choice books, an oil portrait, which cost one hundred dollars, and the remainder of the wearing apparel. The wetting was, however, so unskilfully executed that it left no room to doubt of the water having been purposely cast on those objects, and by no means of the trunks having fallen into a *torrent*; for, in the same trunk, there were objects untouched by the water, besides others entirely reduced to a mass of putrefaction. The totality of the money and objects stolen, amounting to about *three thousand and three hundred dollars*, was but a trifle, when compared with the destruction of important family and personal documents, and of manuscripts, the fruit of upwards of thirty years of hard literary labors, which formed the only hope for some resource in my deplorable situation, that of a sexagenarian and married European emigrant.

"The titles of some of the manuscripts most damaged, were: *Parallèles Politiques*; *La Libertà in Teoria e la Libertà in Pratica*; *Incompatibilità di una vera Democrazia con lo Spirito del Secolo*; *Effetti funesti della Indissolubilità del Matrimonio*; *Traduzione de' Tristi di Ovidio in Versi Sciolti*; *Traduzione del 4o. e 5o. Libro dell' Eneide in Sestine Rimate*; *Progetto di un Codice Militare per le nazioni Libere*; *A Pentaglot Grammar*; *Imperfecciones de la Constitucion Española de 1812*; *Il Diritto d' Intervenzione non sempre illegittimo*; *Les 48 Manceuvres de Cavalerie réduites à 24*; *Projet d' une Société vraiment Savante*; *Incontro di Napoleone con Colombo ne' Campi Elisj*; *A course of Lectures on the Theoretical Principles of Commerce*; *Buonaparte e non Bonaparte-Lezione Italiana a' Francesi*; *Lamentazioni Italiane*; *Cagioni Filosofico-Politiche della Caduta di tutti i Governi*; *Il mio e tuo Politico*; *Beauties and Deformities of the United States of America*; *Montesquieu e Filangieri riconciliati*; *Orrori della Diplomazia Moderna*; *Necessità ed Ordinamento delle Scuole Normali*; *L' Educazione Pubblica e Privata ne' Paesi Liberi*; *Campagnes des Français en 1796, 1798 et 1800 en Italie, et non pas contre l' Italie*; *L' État Major, tel qu' il devrait être*; *Il Vero ed il Falso Amor di Patria*; *Murat, Tragedia in Cinque Atti*; *Notas Criticas á la Obra de Solis sobre la Conquista de Mexico*; *Exámen Critico de la Obra de Zavala sobre las Revoluciones de Mexico*; *Selva di Pensieri Economici, Morali, Politici e Religiosi, &c.*

"What I have had the honor of exposing to you, gentlemen, is not intended, believe me, to excite sympathy for my misfortunes. I think, on the contrary, that there is no worse social condition than

that of a pitied man. My only scope is to make known on what basis rest the morals of the Mexican Government, in what an alarming situation are our fellow-citizens there, and who is truly that excrement of Attila, by whom the brave and unfortunate Colonists of Texas are now threatened with destruction.

"Your most humble servant,

"O. DE A. SANTANGELO. (138)

"NEW-ORLEANS, *October 23d*, 1835."

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### OTHER CONSEQUENCES OF BOTH MY BANISHMENTS FROM MEXICO.

My readers will suppose, perhaps, that having now nothing else to lose, and being, on the other hand, beyond the reach of the savage Mexican Government, the list of my claims on it was complete. They will imagine that I had now nothing else to do but to solicit the powerful, just, patriotic, energetic and benevolent interference of our own Government, to obtain the redress due to my sufferings. But we will see that my very efforts to obtain this redress have forced me to submit to new sacrifices, and are now calling the *coup de grâce* on my unhappy old age.

*First of November, 1835.*—Owing solely to my own courage and activity, I obtained from the worthy lawyer Mr. Alonzo Murphy (at present a judge of the Supreme Court of the State of Louisiana) his house No. 90, Custom-house street, for fifteen hundred and sixty dollars per annum. I furnished it decently, placed my good consort at the head of a select academy of young ladies, and opened evening classes for gentlemen to study foreign languages, receiving at them gratis those who boarded in my family. My success was beyond my hopes. I remained in that situation until July, 1840, when, as another consequence of the Mexican favors, I was obliged to break up this third literary institute, and repair to Washington to have my claims on Mexico adjusted. But let us follow the course of events.

*January, 1836.*—The ex-Vice President Farias, Gen. Mexia, Señor Del Valle, and other notable Mexican Federalists, had been obliged to take refuge in New-Orleans from the ferocious persecutions of Santa Anna. From them I learned, for the first time, who this man really was, and who he had been since his birth. I blushed at the idea of my having ever been his friend; and, availing of the numerous and irrefragable documents in possession of which I was put by General Mexia, I commenced writing his life. But, as almost all the bloody and disgraceful events of Mexico since the achievement of her independence from Spain, were the offspring of his diabolical genius, and the true first causes of those events



could not, on the other hand, be understood, without those being traced up which had taken place in Spain since the famous transactions of Bayonne, my work became insensibly a history, which I hope will ere long be presented to the public, in two volumes, under the title of "Historical Notes on the Revolutions of Mexico, from 1808 up to the present day." It is prepared in Spanish, and it only needs a good English translator.

I had long and soundly debated, within myself, the question whether the treatment I had received from that personage authorized me or not, before the tribunal of honor, my conscience, morals and public opinion, to publish his *private* correspondence with me. But, when I reflected that I had never contracted any *secret* engagement with him; that he had never recommended any secrecy to me; that, on the contrary, the language of all his letters was constantly calculated to insinuate to all readers and to myself his *noble* and *sincere* devotion to his country; that, in fact, he had never been my friend; that he had only abused of my *bonhomie* to make me a tool for his ambitious intrigues; that he had praised my "First Discussion of the Congress of Panama," already published, and urged the publication of the others, only because he thought that my truths would ultimately open to him a way to overthrow the actual imbecile Mexican President (Victoria), and place himself in his stead; that all his nocturnal confabulations with me in Xalapa were only tending to selfish purposes; that he had never taken *publicly* the slightest interest in my cruel banishment of 1826; that he offered me an asylum at his farm, only when he had heard from me that I had refused a like offer made to me by General Guerrero: and when I reflected upon his cool and silent indifference at the distressing loss I had sustained of my only son, in consequence of that banishment; when I considered that not even the least trouble had he taken in my affair with Dick, but had himself defrauded me most villainously of the price of fifty copies of my "Congress of Panama;" that not one single thankful word had I ever received from him about his first biography published by me in Spanish on the "Mercurio," of New-York, by him so warmly desired, and my pamphlet against the Spanish "Redactor," of that city, and the multitude of communications made by me to various French, English and American editors in his behalf, &c.; that he had never broken his silence towards me, after my leaving Mexico in 1826, until informed that President Guerrero had, in 1829, authorized my return to that country; that, deaf to my subsequent letters, he did not again break his silence until August, 1831, when the execution of Guerrero and the usurpation of Bustamante, had inspired him with hope and desire of becoming President, so foolishly expressed by him in his letter of the 11th of October, of the same year; that all his posterior communications had the same scope, determining me to break up my flourishing and profitable establishment in New-York to go and wait in

New-Orleans for his orders, and there exercise, in the mean time, my pen, advocating in French periodicals, his rights to the presidency at the next elections; that, when triumphant against Bustamante, and certain of the presidency, he neither wrote me a word, nor answered the letters written him by Zavala in my behalf; that on my landing in 1833, at Vera Cruz, when already elected President, but conspiring now against the federal system, in order to become the Cromwell or the Napoleon of the country, without having the talents and virtues of either, he tried his best to prevent my advancing into the interior of the Republic, refused as long as he could my visits at his farm, treated me there afterwards shamefully, and pushed so far his impudent ingratitude as to deny the receipt of the numerous, long and elaborated publications I had just made on the "Bee," of New-Orleans, in support of his cause; that in Mexico he would see me only twice, and even then only to exhibit me to his friends and the public, as the *school master* of one of his bastard sons; that in punishment of my having refused to keep that son in my institute under conditions incompatible with the rules of the establishment, and of my having defended in my "Correo" the American and Texian honor against the infamous calumnies of mercenary editors, he not only destroyed at once my "Correo," my institute, my fortune, my peace, my liberty, my honor, and exposed me and my family to die, helpless and hopeless, on the pestilential coasts of the country, through the most dastardly and fell abuse of power, trampling at once under foot the laws of the country, the law of nations, the solemn treaty existing between his country and mine, the laws of hospitality, honor and morality, but would also condemn me, by the basest of tricks, to eternal obscurity, humiliation and misery, out of Mexico, by destroying not merely the authentic vouchers of my respectability and his treachery which I had in my trunks, but even the fruit of thirty years of literary and honorable labors. . . . When I considered all this, and when it evidently appeared to me that no hostility on my part against him could now reasonably be construed into the effect of a private unnecessary vengeance, but solely as a legitimate and indispensable self-defence; when I thought that his crimes were of such a nature as to render him unworthy even of the honor of receiving a corporeal punishment from the hands of a gentleman; and when, again, I became fully convinced that it was, on the contrary, a crime for me to withhold from the sight of society that pestilential scourge of his own country, the dishonor of mankind, and now the blood-thirsty assaulter, at the head of a powerful army, of a handful of pacific, virtuous and industrious American husbandmen, who had been perfidiously invited to fertilize and colonize a territory heretofore inhabited only by snakes and ferocious Indians, and consequently useless or even prejudicial to Mexico—then I concluded that I was, not only absolved from all duties, if ever I had any, towards that loathsome monster in human shape,

but I had a full right, and it was my most sacred and imperious duty, to unmask it, by all means in my power, before all nations and all men.

Moved by these considerations, I took the pen, and recommenced in New-Orleans, on the 29th of February, 1836, the publication of my "Correo Atlantico," which had been silenced in Mexico by the bayonet, and which I devoted now exclusively to the defence of Texas, and to the punishment of the President *Salteador*, who had actually invaded that unhappy Colony, threatening it with the most complete and unmerciful destruction (\*). It was then alone, and not until then, that I took the *offensive* against him; and certainly it was high time to do so, for he had already exhausted all his means to annihilate me, and consequently to free me from all regards, both to his person and his public character. Respect to public authority is commanded by heaven and earth; but let the man who exercises it tyrannically be cursed by earth and heaven. This digression was indispensable, to shelter my honor from the magistral strictures of those who speak much, think little, and know less.

*Fifteenth of November, 1836.*—Negotiations were now going on in a fair way between the United States and Mexico for a proper adjustment of our claims. President Jackson was not insensible to national honor; and from the very efforts made at the time by the Mexican cabinet to free itself from some charges, I had an indirect but decisive acknowledgment of the justice of my claim on its part. I beg the attention of my judges on this topic. The acting Minister of Foreign Affairs, Señor Monasterio, at present chief clerk of the same department, in reply to a note of our Chargé, Mr. Ellis, dated September 26th, 1836, containing various reclamations on the part of the United States, affirmed, under date of November 15th, that "the protection given by article xiv of the treaty of the 5th April, 1831, to American citizens in Mexico, was limited to a resort to the tribunals of the country, *whose access is rendered free to them*, leaving the parties interested to carry on their own affairs, without the direct interposition of their respective Governments . . . . without making them matter of diplomatic discussion, so long as the parties interested *are not denied those legal resources which are open to Mexicans . . . . as there could not exist two different legislations for natives and foreigners*; and the latter, all they can claim in virtue of the treaty, is, that *they may be judged by the same laws, and by the same tribunals as the former.*" ( 139 )

This is the language of the same honorable SECRETARY OF STATE, who, in June of the preceding year, authorized with his signature the *lettre de cachet*, by which I was ordered to quit the city of Mexico within three days, despoiled of my property, exposed to perish with my family of the epidemic then raging in Vera Cruz, and definitively obliged to embark for foreign parts, without being permitted any *access to the tribunals of the country*, any of the *legal resources common to the native, &c.*, nor even being apprised of any

reasons at all for such a cruel, iniquitous and proditory assault. Señor Monasterio was then willing to prove to the world that the handsome diction, SECRETARY OF STATE, does not always mean wisdom, talent, justice, honor or common sense. At all events I owe him my thanks for having, in the above quoted instance, so eloquently advocated my cause.

*Twenty-fourth of March, 1837.*—About this time I read in a newspaper a note addressed by our Secretary of State, Mr. Forsyth, to our Chargé in Mexico, Mr. Ellis, containing some instructions and a list of claims, amongst which *mine was not mentioned*. I then addressed to Mr. Poinsett, who had been just appointed Minister of War, a letter dated New-Orleans, March 24th, in which, after my congratulations upon said appointment, I said :

“ You will remember my having been banished from Mexico in 1826, when you were Minister there, in consequence of my having *defended the interests of the United States*, in my pamphlet on the Panama affair ; which banishment caused me the *irreparable loss of my only son*. Several entreaties and *promises of indemnification* from a great number of Mexicans of the highest character, such as Guerrero, Santa Anna, Zavala, Esteva, &c., to have me there as founder of a National Lyceum, induced me to return ; and then I suffered another turn of aggression and spoliation, in open violation of the article xiv of the treaty existing between Mexico and the United States ; and, thus deprived of all possibility of having my former claim answered. I was, while a citizen of the United States, banished again in June, 1835, by order of Santa Anna, for having asked from other editors of the country, in my ‘ *Correo Atlantico*,’ some proofs about the atrocious calumnies they were daily vomiting against the Texians in particular, and the *citizens and Government of the United States in general*, and also for having been frequently visited by Colonel Austin, in Mexico. I protested against the proceedings to no purpose, and suffered to the amount of one hundred thousand dollars. There being then no Minister at Mexico, I applied to the Consul, Mr. Parrott, who promised to represent my affair to the State Department. But I find that he has not kept his promise, *since my name has not appeared amongst those comprised in the letter of Mr. Forsyth to Mr. Ellis, as having a right to an indemnification from Mexico*. Will you please to inform me of the customary mode of presenting claims, and suggest how I shall act as regards my own, in whose support I have documents of the best authority,” &c. ( 140 )

This letter was transmitted by Mr. Poinsett to the Department of State, and thence it came to the Board of Commissioners under the Convention with Mexico.

NOTE.—The judges of my claims will remark that Mr. Poinsett, by transmitting the letter just transcribed here to the Department of State, without any observation on his part, implicitly acknowledged the truth of these words: “ You will remember my having been

banished from Mexico, in 1826, when you were Minister there, in consequence of *my having defended the interests of the United States*, in my pamphlet on the Panama affair," &c. This circumstance ought to impress all American hearts.

*Twenty-ninth of April, 1837.*—The same uneasiness which had induced me to write to Mr. Poinsett, prompted me now to address a letter, under date of April 29th, to the Secretary of State, Mr. John Forsyth, giving him a synoptical idea of my misfortunes in Mexico, and requesting his attention on my claims. ( 141 ) This letter was published afterwards with some important notes ( 142 ), and I sent him two printed copies of it, with the No. 35 of my "*Correo Atlantico*" (of New-Orleans), in which several important documents relating to my claim were transcribed; and although all these communications remained politely unanswered (for the devise of high *republican* functionaries must be: *Deminimis non curat Prator*), yet they were preserved in the State Department, transmitted afterwards to the Mexico-American Board, and are now filed amongst my documents. ( 143 ) It would be useless to detail the contents of said letter, it being but an epitome of what has already been exposed in this statement. I would only anticipate here that I have made some *important amendments* to it, on which I shall have hereafter the honor of calling the attention of the judge.

*Second of February, 1839.*—A Convention for the adjustment of American claims on Mexico had been concluded at Washington, on the 10th of September, 1838; but it was not ratified by the Mexican Government, under the pretext that the consent of the King of Prussia to provide an arbitrator to act in the case provided by said Convention, "could not be obtained." In the mean time the news of the proposed *foreign* arbitration alarmed the claimants; and those who were present in New-Orleans assembled, in the last days of January, and signed a memorial to Congress, with a solemn protest against all *foreign arbitration*. ( \* ) I was present at this meeting, but did not sign, and solicited, on the contrary, its adjournment until the 2d of February, when I proposed to give my opinion on the matter. In fact, at this second meeting, I delivered an address, containing a statement of all the proofs of friendship and generosity given by the United States to Mexico since her first attempts to shake the Spanish yoke; of all the proofs of her ingratitude and enmity to the United States; and of all the negotiations which had until that period taken place between the two Governments, for the redress due by her to our nation and citizens. I then discussed successively these questions:

"1st. Is a foreign arbitration just or convenient? Or both? Or neither?"

"2d. Would war be just or convenient? Or both? Or neither?"

"But why engage," said I, "in a discussion already solved by Congress, and perhaps agreed to by both the contending Governments? Supposing in private citizens the right of *opposing* a measure which attacks their *right of property*, have they the *force* to frustrate it?"

And even in the supposition of their having this *force*, would it be patriotic for them to disturb the public peace for their individual interests? What will, then, Congress reply to a petition tending to have that measure revoked, *if already ratified by both Governments*? A round and powerful NO; and what can be, therefore, the object of my present address to you, gentlemen? This is it:

"1st. That in case of the agreement in favor of a *foreign arbitration* not being yet ratified, by both Mexico and Washington, the matter be reconsidered by Congress, and our respectful observations be properly appreciated.

"2dly. That in case of the irrevocability of the measure, and consequently of our necessity to submit patiently to it, our Government be, with equal respect, prompted to put it into execution without further delay, and adopt all possible means to cause the Prussian delegate to be properly instructed of the true state of things, and at the same time to prevent him from being influenced by Mexican intrigue.

"3dly. Finally, to remove, if possible, many erroneous opinions prevailing among a large portion of the nation about the law of nations in similar contests in general, and the conduct, either too moderate or too hostile, of our Government towards Mexico in particular. Supposing now the case in question being not yet resolved, I will endeavor to demonstrate:

"1st. That foreign arbitration is both *unjust* and *inconvenient*.

"2dly. That war, if truly no hopes for adjustment exist, would be at once *just, convenient, indispensable*." (\*)

My demonstration followed; it was found unanswerable; the meeting unanimously voted me their thanks, and the publication of one thousand copies of my speech in pamphlet form, at their expense; a copy to be sent to each member of Congress, the Governors of the several States, and all individuals interested, &c. (\*) All this was done; and I must be permitted to relate here what the local press said about that *arbitration*.

*From the Louisiana Advertiser, of 9th February, 1839.*

". . . . . To refer for *arbitration* our claims to a foreign potentate almost totally ignorant of our relative position and character, was at least bad policy, and not consonant with what is termed *international law*, or the example of nations. Disputes concerning boundaries or insults may properly be so referred; but there is probably not one precedent existing in any age or country, where *individual claims* asserted by a Government, were ever made the subject of *arbitration* by a foreign potentate. It is the positive *duty* of that Government itself to redress the wrongs of its citizens, without any intervention or advice. England never sought such an arbiter. France would disdain such a reference; and even our own Government has hitherto *per se* always enforced the indemnification of the claims of its citizens against all the European powers; and yet now

it makes a miserable and ungracious and ungenerous exception in favor of Mexico. This is magnanimity with a vengeance! particularly when we consider that the Mexican Congress had previously decreed that the accounts formerly presented by our Secretary of State, were not of such a nature as to demand payment or reparation. Yet with this fact before the world, an *arbitration* is adopted, the result of which may never arrive; and if it did, the enforcement of what may be attended with worse than double the disasters and encounters with one neighboring Republic than a present resolute demand which it is intended, should not be gainsaid or avoided. This latter subject is placed in an excellent position by that learned jurist O. de A. Santangelo, whose address to a late public meeting held in this city, and now printed in pamphlet form, contains a comprehensive view of it in all its ramifications, and forms a complete epitome of international law on all the topics discussed." ( \* )

*From the New-Orleans Bee, of the 21st February, 1839.*

"UNITED STATES AND MEXICO.—We have examined with some attention a petition addressed by a number of the citizens of New-Orleans to the two houses of Congress, together with a pamphlet containing the speech of O. de A. Santangelo, Esq., on the subject of the claims of citizens of the United States against Mexico, for spoliation committed on American commerce, and the persons and property of citizens of the United States residing in Mexico, conformably to the treaty of amity, navigation and commerce of the two nations.

"The petitioners complain of the delays which have procrastinated the settlement of those claims, and PROTEST against the policy and justice of referring them to the *arbitration of a third power*. They recommend speedy and effectual measures on the part of the Government to coerce Mexico into reparation of the injuries and losses which they have sustained at her hands.

"The speech of Mr. Santangelo gives a succinct history of the spoliation and outrages which have given rise to these claims, and contrasts the generous, humane and conciliatory policy of the United States towards Mexico, with the perfidious and barbarous conduct of that people towards citizens of this country.

"It also contains an analysis of such proceedings as have taken place between the two Governments, concerning the injuries complained of, and presents the conduct of France in enforcing the rights of her citizens at the point of the bayonet, and the temporizing unsatisfactory policy of the United States, in a striking point of contrast.

"In fact the negotiations between this country and Mexico concerning these claims, *are any thing but flattering to our national pride*. While it is admitted that the Mexicans have outraged every principle of international law, and violated every sentiment of humanity, by perpetrating acts of wanton injustice on the persons and

property of American citizens, in defiance of treaties, stipulations and the repeated remonstrances of the Government, we are humiliated by the confession that *this forbearance is becoming a powerful people*. The internal discord which prevails throughout Mexico, is no stable reason why our claims should not be pushed to final adjustment. If they are to be postponed until this turbulent and discontented people become tranquil and free from revolutionary disturbances, the chances are that the claimants will have to wait for the settlement of their accounts until doomsday. The lapse of years brings with it no improvement in the moral condition of the Mexicans, or in the stability and strength of their Government. Time seems only to infuriate and stultify still further the first, and to increase the arrogance and the impracticability of the second. The ignorance, overweening presumption and pride of Mexico render her deaf to the demands of justice, and induces her to construe the lenity of our Government, and its unwillingness to resort to coercive measures, into national pusillanimity and weakness. Insensible to the impulses of magnanimity, her rulers are unable to conceive its operations in others.

"These claims have been repeatedly brought before Congress, and in the session of 1837, both branches concurred in the passage of some spirited resolutions, which promised more energy in the enforcement of the rights of our citizens. But *the subject has again fallen into oblivion*, and redress seems to be as distant as ever. And during this apathy, the property of citizens of the United States is exposed to the rapacity of the Mexicans, who are stimulated in their aggressions by the impunity with which they have been heretofore committed.

"When it is recollected that the United States have ever pursued towards Mexico the most liberal and friendly policy, and that during her struggle for independence, it was owing principally to the interest with which that struggle was regarded by our Government, and its determination to make common cause with Mexico, should the European powers interfere in the contest between the Colonies and Old Spain, that independence was achieved, the conduct of the Mexican Government must appear particularly odious, ungrateful, and indefensible, and we can conceive of no reason why their intolerable blustering and arrogance should be longer endured.

"In Mr. Santangelo's speech the whole subject is reviewed in a calm, searching, and philosophical manner. The folly of allowing a false sympathy for the calamities of a people who are insensible to the impulses of gratitude, and who require to be taught that they are not the most powerful nation on earth, to interfere in exacting justice from them, is happily pointed out, and the expediency of adopting immediate hostile measures against them, argued with much force and clearness." ( \* )

Notwithstanding all these and many other publications from the claimants and from the press, both in English and in French, and



the remittance of the abovementioned pamphlet to Washington and elsewhere, as resolved by the meeting of the 2d February, 1839, no change was observed in the policy adopted by the Van Buren cabinet. Still the Convention with Mexico was at that period not yet ratified, nor even concluded. It had been necessary to remodel it (as stated in its preamble) "in a manner *more convenient to Mexico* than that provided by the Convention of 1838!" . . . . And then it was *concluded* on the 11th of April, 1839, that is, *sixty-eight days* after the delivery of my address, adopted by the meeting as their own, and it was not *ratified* and published in Washington until the 8th of April, 1840, that is, about *fourteen months* after the address! The *mot d'ordre* from the so called kitchen-cabinet was, "*Paix à tout prix*," and national honor, and the individual interests of hundreds of our fellow-citizens, and the clamors of universal justice, to which not even the most savage tribes are deaf, every thing was inexorably and basely immolated to the selfish views of one man, through a convention with Mexico, which I have proved to the executive, legislative, judiciary, and people of the United States, as well as to the world, in a printed representation to the President, Mr. Tyler, dated July 12th, 1841, and remaining up to this day *unanswered*, to be: "ANTI-NATIONAL, ANTI-CONSTITUTIONAL, and ABSURD IN ALL ITS PROVISIONS." ( \* )

*Twenty-second of September, 1840.*—The claimants were then compelled to submit, right or wrong, to the law of necessity. The Convention having established in Washington a Mexico-American board to adjust their claims, or refer to a Prussian umpire such cases or points on which its Mexican and American members could not agree, I was obliged to *break up my third literary institute* (another consequence of Mexican persecutions), sustaining an additional loss of a *yearly* profit of from five to six thousand dollars, and of upwards of two thousand dollars on the price of my furniture sold at auction in July, 1840, the whole of which is evinced by unexceptionable testimony ( 144 ), and reached with my family this city on the 22d of September of the past year, only to endure new losses, new expenses, new despotic treatments from Mexicans!!!

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### FURTHER EVIDENCE PROCURED.

*Fifteenth of December, 1840.*—Under this date I addressed to Mr. Poinsett, Minister of War, the following note:

"SIR: Being one of the claimants against Mexico before the Board of Commissioners under the Convention concluded on the 11th of April, 1839, between that Government and ours, I find myself under the necessity of addressing to you the following respectful request.

"My claims result from two illegal and unjust banishments from Mexico; the first in July, 1826, the second in June, 1835.

"As to the latter, I apprehend no reasonable objections, being since 1829, a naturalized American citizen, and consequently fully entitled to the protection of the United States, for the redress of the wrongs inflicted on me in 1835.

"But, as to the former banishment in 1826, I am now told that no attention is to be paid to it, as, at that period, *I was not yet an American citizen*; and it is extremely important for me to refute this error.

"In 1826 I was not yet an American citizen: true; that is, I had not yet been invested with the *POLITICAL* rights of a naturalized American citizen. But my *CIVIL* rights were doubtlessly under the protection of the United States, since May, 1824, when I declared before the marine court of New-York, my intention of becoming a citizen, and *swore* my formal renunciation to *all foreign allegiance*. From that moment I lost every claim to *foreign protection*, and consequently my *CIVIL* rights were placed, *de jure* and *de facto*, under the safeguard of the country where I had established for ever my *legal* domicile. I say *legal* domicile, because no *personal* uninterrupted residence, in other words, no *forced personal relegation* within the boundaries of the Union, could be exacted by law, as a condition *sine qua non* of the solicited citizenship. To renounce freedom in order to become free would be evidently an absurdity.

"In 1825, that is, one year after having made in New-York the above *sworn* declaration, I was obliged to accompany to Mexico an only son (the companion of my emigration from Europe), who had been offered there a profitable employment in an Anglo-Mexican mining company. During my temporary permanence in the Mexican capital, I published there a work on the 'Congress of Panama,' then in contemplation, *thirty-seven pages of which were consecrated to advocate the right of the United States to be represented in that Congress as a member of the great American family, and to be treated in all respects by Mexico on the same footing as all the new States of the Americas formerly Spanish*; supporting at the same time the *justice and common utility to both Americas of the principles opposed by you to certain extravagant pretensions of the Mexican Government in the treaty of amity, navigation and commerce, which you were then negotiating with it*, in your capacity of Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States. For this crime a *lettre de cachet* was suddenly handed to me, on the 1st of July, 1826, ordering my expulsion from the Mexican States. In vain had the competent tribunal, the jury of the press, *unanimously* absolved my book. In vain did the council of the Government declare the *unconstitutionality* of the order of my banishment, and the *responsibility* of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Sebastian Camacho, who had signed it. The Mexican Executive, trampling upon both the judicial and legislative powers, directed that my banishment should, right or wrong, be carried into effect. Nor did my allegation of my *CIVIL* rights being under the protection of the United States, in virtue of

the *sworn declaration and renunciation* I had made two years before (1824) in New-York, prove of any avail. It was verbally answered by the Governor of the Federal District, Señor Molinos Del Campo, who had personally handed to me my passport, that, 'in virtue of a prior *agreement* between the Mexican Government and the *American legation*, no account ought to be taken of the interference of the United States in my case.'

"The alleged *agreement* was derived from the article 13th of the regulations respecting 'all foreigners arriving at Mexico or departing therefrom,' published by the Executive of Mexico, on the 5th of the preceding month of June, and conceived thus: 'To prevent in future the *frauds* which have been or might be committed by some foreigners, who, *supposing* themselves to be *citizens of the United States*, have exhibited, as a certificate of citizenship, the certificate of the *oath* made by them in said States, THEIR LEGATION AGREES not to expedite any certificate for passports, without the most satisfactory *evidence* of their holding the *citizenship* of the same States,' &c.

"Being unacquainted with the true terms and the true object of the alleged *agreement* between the Mexican Executive and the *American legation*, which at that period was worthily represented by yourself, as Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States in Mexico, I take the liberty, sir, to have recourse to your kindness for a suitable explanation, which is indispensable to me for the support of my claim upon the Mexican Government, before the Board of Commissioners abovementioned.

"Although it does not clearly appear from the article above quoted, that you had adopted the principle that 'the foreigner who had declared before a court of the United States his intention to become a citizen, and made a *sworn renunciation to the allegiance of all other powers on earth*, had no right of having his *CIVIL* rights protected in Mexico by the commercial or diplomatic agents of the United States,' yet this might be properly or improperly inferred from *your having agreed*, as the article says, *with the Mexican Government* 'not to deliver any certificate for passports to foreigners without the most satisfactory evidence of their holding the citizenship of the United States.'

"If this be the case, it would be obviously observed that neither the Executive of a country, nor the legation of another, could lawfully destroy such individual *CIVIL* rights as, in circumstances like this, are unequivocally acknowledged by the law of nations, and practically respected by all civilized nations. But, if this be not the case, and I suppose it is not, deign, sir, to make me acquainted with your views on this subject, in order that I may ground my claim on a solid basis, and you will greatly oblige, your most humble servant,

"O. DE A. SANTANGELO.

"WASHINGTON CITY, December 15th, 1840." (145)

Answer.

"WASHINGTON, December 17th, 1840.

"SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 15th instant. The long period which has elapsed and my separation from my papers, oblige me to refer you to the Department of State for the explanation of any transaction connected with my negotiations while minister of the United States at Mexico. As the letter you have addressed to me, *may be of service to you*, it is herewith returned.

"I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

"J. R. POINSETT.

"Mr. O. de A. Santangelo, Washington City." ( 146 )

In fact, I believe that my letter to Mr. Poinsett, returned to me without *explanations* nor *observations* on his part, may be, and is most assuredly "*of service to me.*"

"1st. It proves the truth of my statement about the reason of my banishment of 1826 from Mexico; that of having advocated there the interests of the United States, and the official conduct of their minister Mr. Poinsett.

"2dly. It demonstrates the injustice of the refusal of the American protection in Mexico to foreigners bearers of the certificate of the *oath* taken by them in the United States, as required by law, to obtain, at the expiration of the term prefixed by it, American citizenship.

"3dly. It evinces the fact of the non-existence of any lawful treaty between the United States and Mexico, from which the Executive of Mexico and the legation of the United States might have derived a right to deprive the bearers of such certificates of all protection to their *CIVIL* rights.

"4thly. And that should Mexico not be responsible for the injuries caused to me in 1826, on account of the *agreement* of the legation of the United States to her lawless pretensions, the responsibility would naturally, obviously and most rightly fall on the Government of the United States itself."

*Thirty-first of December, 1840.*—The answer of Mr. Poinsett suggested to me the propriety of addressing to the *Secretary of State*, Mr. Forsyth, the following petition:

"O. de A. Santangelo, a citizen of the United States, and a claimant on Mexico, under the Convention of the 11th of April, 1839, most respectfully represents:

"That with a *letter* to your Department, dated 29th of April, 1837, he transmitted a printed copy of his *protest* before the Consul of the United States at Mexico, on the subject of his banishment from that country in 1835.

"As to the *protest*, the petitioner having made it in great haste, and at a moment in which a banishment as unmerited as unexpect-

ed, of which he foresaw the most distressing consequences, had strongly agitated his mind, several *omissions or mistaken statements were contained in it, in regard to the damages therein mentioned, which will be corrected* in the general statement of the case to be presented by your petitioner to the Board of Commissioners established under said treaty, when the rules and regulations of its proceedings shall have been made public.

“And as to the *letter*, in making in it an allusion to his first banishment of July, 1826, from said country, your petitioner had candidly, but erroneously, supposed that he, having at that period only made before the marine court of New-York the declaration of his intention of becoming a citizen of the United States, no protection from their agents was due to him in Mexico. This supposition had obviously sprung from the circumstance of a regulation having appeared in that city, in the preceding month of June, the article 13th of which was so conceived: ‘To prevent in future the frauds which have been or might be committed by some foreigners, who, supposing themselves to be citizens of the United States, have exhibited as a certificate of citizenship, the certificate of the *oath* taken by them in said States, their legation agrees not to expedite any certificate for passports without the most satisfactory evidence of their holding the citizenship of the same States,’ &c.

“Your petitioner, persuaded that no legation or executive power could have, *motu proprio*, destroyed or curtailed individual rights, proclaimed by the laws of nations, and respected by all Governments, had accordingly inferred from the tenor of said article, that some special and formal *treaty* had been stipulated between the two nations, by which it was *agreed*, right or wrong, that a *foreigner, bearer only of the certificate of the oath made by him in the United States, had no right to the protection of their agents in Mexico.*

“But the non-existence of such treaty being now ascertained, the petitioner begs to represent that the very fact of his having declared in May, 1824, that is, two years *before* the event of his first banishment from Mexico before the marine court of New-York, his intention to become a citizen of the United States, after the number of years required by law, had, *de facto* and *de jure*, placed his **CIVIL** rights under the immediate and exclusive protection of the United States, *at home and abroad*, although no **POLITICAL** rights could he acquire but from the future act of his becoming a citizen; for, as the abovementioned declaration included implicitly that of his *perpetual* domicile in these States, and was accompanied by his *sworn* renunciation to all *foreign allegiance*, especially to that of the sovereign of his native country, he had necessarily and evidently lost all right to *foreign protection*, and not even a passport would he have obtained from any foreign commercial or diplomatic agent in the United States, or Mexico.

“Your petitioner, reserving the right of legally developing in

proper time this argument before the aforesaid board, deems it only to be necessary at present to declare, and respectfully protest, that his *mistaken* supposition, contained in his letter of the 29th of April, 1837, must be regarded as *unfounded and null*, and consequently by no means prejudicial to any of his rights as consecrated by the law of nations, the constitution and laws of the United States, the general practice of all enlightened Governments, and reason itself.

"And praying you to direct that this respectful *petition* and *protest* be filed amongst the other documents existing either in the State Department, or in the secretary of said board, concerning his claims, has the honor of subscribing himself, your most humble and obedient servant,

O. DE A. SANTANGELO.

"WASHINGTON, D. C., December 31st, 1840." ( 147 )

This petition and protest was not answered by the always extremely polite Secretary of State, Mr. Forsyth, but it was sent at least (although not until the 13th of February of the new year, 1841) to the Board of Commissioners, and thence to me, to be filed in the chronological series of my numerous documents.

NOTE.—The question whether I had, or not, in 1826, a right to the protection of the United States in Mexico, is in my opinion quite idle, or even foreign to the case:

1st. Because the place of birth or the citizenship of a creditor does not exempt the debtor from paying him his due, and much less can it free an unjust assaulter, be he an individual or a moral body, from the obligation of indemnifying his victim according to the laws of the country, the law of nations, or both. *Si aliquem læseris, damnum resarci*; this is the text of universal jurisprudence.

2dly. Because my action to recover damages, due since 1826, by the Mexican Government on account of an arbitrary, unconstitutional and criminal offence to me, is, by its own nature, not subject to any legal prescription, nor was it ever renounced or otherwise legally lost by me.

3dly. Because that action was warranted to me by an express provision of the constitution then in vigor since 1824, in the country (and not abolished until the 30th December, 1835); which provision threw the responsibility of all *unconstitutional* acts of the Executive on the minister who legalized them with his signature; and certainly the responsibility of a minister towards a foreigner is the responsibility of the Government itself.

4thly. Because the Mexican Government, by expelling me in 1835, illegally, unjustly, and in defiance both of the constitution of the country and of a public treaty, whilst I was an American citizen, forcibly prevented me from asking the redress due to me by it since 1826, in virtue of the laws of its own country; *ex quo efficitur* that it assumed, of its own accord, the responsibility for the atonement of all damages caused to me at both periods, by both banishments.

5thly. And because, by my having reckoned, in my protest of the

3d. of July, 1835, amongst the damages caused to me by the illegal and unjust expulsion of that period, the fact of having been forcibly prevented from asking in Mexico the redress due to me for the injuries I had experienced from my banishment of 1826, my action for the indemnification of the damages which have been the consequences of both banishments, being *one* and *indivisible*, now unquestionably comes under the same Convention of the 11th April, 1839, and consequently under the consideration of the same judge. Nevertheless, should it be necessary to demonstrate that, even on the occasion of my first banishment of 1826, from Mexico, I had a right to the protection of the United States, if not as a *citizen* or an *aspirant to the citizenship* of the United States, at least as a foreigner who had fixed his *perpetual* domicil in these States, and had lost all rights to foreign protection, in consequence of an oath required by the laws of the country, I am ready to do so, the law of nations in hand, observed in this respect by all nations on earth worthy of the name of nations. Hence, as neither the Mexican Executive, nor the American legation had the lawful power of destroying that right, the consequence would be that the intrinsic *nullity* of their *agreement* in the Mexican regulation of the 5th of June, 1826, could neither exempt Mexico from acknowledging the *legality* of that right, nor the Government of the United States from the obligation of supporting it, unless by assuming itself the responsibility of the Mexican debt in the case.

*Eleventh of January, 1841.*—Among human possibilities there could be that of the Mexican Government alleging now its *ignorance* of my quality of citizen of the United States, even on the occasion of my banishment of 1835, in order to *escape the consequences of the violation of the treaty of the 5th April, 1831*. . . . But, in this case, it would be easily convicted of falsehood, for my said quality was made known to it:

1st. In my passport, delivered by the State Department of Washington, countersigned by the Mexican consuls of New-York and New-Orleans, Señores Treat and Pizarro-Martinez, presented to the local authorities of Vera Cruz, on my arrival there on the 24th of March, 1833, and left in Mexico with the *chargé* of the United States there, Colonel Butler, in exchange of the "*carta de seguridad*" (*letters of protection*), procured by him in my favor from the Mexican Government.

2dly. In my petition to it, dated Vera Cruz, 29th of March, 1833, and published in the "*Censor*" of that city, on the following day, 30th.

3dly. In my prospectus of the Lyceum Azteque, published in Mexico, and presented to that Government, on the 1st of June, 1833.

4thly. In my petition to the Governor of the District, General Martinez, of the 7th of September, 1833, wherein I asked the permission of opening in my house a course of political economy and languages.

5th. In my periodical, the "El Correo Atlantico;" to which the Mexican Government was a subscriber for twelve copies.

6th. In my letter to President Santa Anna, of the 25th of June, 1835, a copy of which was sent at the time by the consul, Mr. Parrott, to the State Department, and is now filed in my documents.

7th. In my petition of the same date, of June 25th, to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, likewise forwarded by said consul to said department, and now in my possession.

8th. In the dialogue between me and Governor Rayon, of the same day.

9th. In the dialogue between Mrs. Santangelo and President Santa Anna, of the 26th, &c.

But, to have an exuberant evidence of the fact, I wrote, on the 11th of January last, to Mr. Parrott, a note, asking "whether on my having entered on the 3d July, 1835, in his consulate in Mexico, a protest against the banishment from that country inflicted on me in the preceding month of June, *in contravention of the treaty of 1831*, he had sent a copy of it to the Mexican Government, as he did to the State Department in Washington" ( 148 ); to which I received the following answer :

"WASHINGTON, *January 11th*, 1841.

"O. DE A. SANTANGELO, *Washington* :

"DEAR SIR: In reply to your note of this date, I beg leave to state, that I transmitted to the Department of State, at this city, an authenticated copy of your protest, entered as an *American citizen*, before me as consul of the United States of America, in July, 1835, against an order of the Government of Mexico for your banishment from the Republic; that your name is registered on the records of the consulate of the United States of America at Mexico, as a *citizen of the United States*; and that, from certificates from Colonel A. Butler, our then chargé d'affaires at Mexico, or *myself* as consul at the time, *you received as such from the Mexican Government your letters of protection*, or 'cartas de seguridad.'

"Respectfully, your obedient servant,

"W. S. PARROTT." ( 149 )

*Thirtieth of January*, 1841.—Besides the proof resulting from the letter of Messrs. Manning, Marshall and Co., dated Vera Cruz, the 18th August, 1835, and from my *proximo conquestu* of the plunder of my trunks on the road between Puebla and Vera Cruz, and the destruction of my precious manuscripts, my only hopes if not for fame, at least for pecuniary resources; and on account of the death, occurred since that period, of Messrs. G. MacLaughlin and P. Leonard, who were present when I received those trunks in New-Orleans, and found six of them broken open, &c., I wrote, in the beginning of January last, to G. Schmidt, a respectable lawyer and member of the council of the city of New-Orleans, requesting him conscientiously to certify what he knew about that occurrence; to which he replied by sending me the following *affidavit* :



"STATE OF LOUISIANA, *City of New-Orleans, to wit, &c.* :

"I do hereby certify, that when, in October, 1835, Mr. O. de A. Santangelo received from Vera Cruz, through Messrs. Hermann & Co. of this city, eight large trunks, he found *six* of them broken open, which Mr. and Mrs. Santangelo affirmed were stripped of every thing valuable in money, jewels, wearing apparel, &c., to the amount of three or four thousand dollars. *I saw* in the house of Mr. and Mrs. Santangelo of this city a large quantity of books and manuscripts contained in said trunks, which were wet and injured so as to be illegible, and were of no value; and *I examined* said books and manuscripts with attention, but was unable to decipher them. Mr. Santangelo was more grieved at this loss than at any other, because the manuscripts were, as he informed me, the fruit of *thirty years literary labor*, a fact of which I had an opportunity of *estimating the correctness*, by examining not only the quantity, but the events to which they referred, so far as practicable from the mutilated condition of said manuscripts. Mr. Santangelo also complained of the total absence of a box marked "Mexican papers," and which he informed me contained valuable documents collected by him during a residence of many years in the Mexican Republic, and the loss of which he ascribed to the Mexican Government, as no one else could have had any interest in purloining the same. Mr. Santangelo, from these causes, was much excited, and had prepared a publication on the subject, which I dissuaded him from publishing, urging him at the same to apply to our Government for redress.

"G. SCHMIDT."

"Sworn and subscribed to, before me, this 30th day of January, 1841.  
O. P. JACKSON, *Judge.*"

[Here follows the legalization of the Governor of the State of Louisiana, dated 1st February, 1841.] ( 150 )

NOTE.—The judge of my claims will remark that almost all the numerous *original* documents which are quoted in this statement of facts, have been more or less injured by the pretended *torrent*, and a great many are almost *illegible*; so that it has been necessary to copy all of them in a good hand-writing to facilitate their perusal.

*Eleventh of February, 1841.*—The silence of the honorable Secretary of State, Mr. Forsyth (that as well bred gentleman as learned statesman, adroit diplomatist, and energetic defender of the honor of his country in his high-minded negotiations with foreign powers), on my very humble *petition* and *protest* of the 31st of December, 1840, prompted me now to renew that protest before the notary public of this city, Samuel D. King, Esq., on the 11th February, of this year, 1841; in which, after having presented an abridged statement of my grievances resulting from my two banishments from Mexico, and of their ruinous effects; and after having quoted, 1st, the omissions or mistaken statements contained in the protest I entered on the 3d of July, 1835, in the American consulate in Mexico, con-

cerning the *amount of damages* therein mentioned: 2dly, the error I had made in my printed letter to Mr. Forsyth of the 29th of April, 1837, by believing myself not entitled to the protection of the United States against my banishment of 1826; I concluded:

"For these reasons the appearer doth hereby *declare* and solemnly *protest*, that he intends, and is prepared to prove his full and lawful right to the protection of the United States' Government to obtain a proper redress from that of Mexico, not merely for his banishment from that country in 1835, and its consequences, when he was a naturalized citizen of the United States since 1829, in the enjoyment of the political and constitutional rights of an American citizen; but also for his first banishment in 1826, at which period he had established, since the month of May, 1824, his *perpetual* domicile in the United States, declared his *intention* of becoming a citizen, and *sworn* his renunciation to all fidelity and allegiance to foreign powers, and especially to that of his native country; for which his *civil* rights had been unquestionably and exclusively placed, *de jure* and *de facto*, under the protection of the United States' Government and laws, both *at home* and *abroad*; and he doth likewise *declare* and *protest*, in the same lawful and solemn manner, that he intends, and is prepared to correct the aforesaid protest, and *prove* that the *true amount* of his claims against the Mexican Government *doth far exceed the sum stated in said protest*, notwithstanding the statements contained in it on the subject.

"O. DE A. SANTANGELO.

"SAMUEL D. KING, }  
"SAMUEL HANSON, } *Witnesses.*"

[Here follows the legalization of the notary public, under his hand and official seal]. ( 151 )

*Twenty-fifth of September, 1841.*—In addition to the proofs I have already exhibited in this statement of facts, pages 87 to 89, under the dates of April 22d, and May 7th, 21st, and 31st, 1835, of the importance of the "El Correo Atlantico," which I was editing in Mexico, when, in June of said year, I was so barbarously and lawlessly banished from that country, as well as of the immense profit which I could reasonably expect from that periodical publication, I have thought proper to request under date of the 22d of September last, the frank and conscientious opinion on the subject, of one of the subscribers to that paper at that period, now present in Washington, the late consul of the United States there, Mr. William S. Parrott ( 152 ); and I have now the honor to submit here his answer to the judges of the case:

"WASHINGTON, *September 25th, 1841.*

"O. DE A. SANTANGELO:

"DEAR SIR: In answer to your note of the 22d inst., requesting my frank and unbiased opinion, as to what was the public opinion in regard to your polyglot, literary and commercial "Correo Atlantico," published by you in the city of Mexico, in 1835, the extent

of its circulation, the price of subscription, the profit you might have expected in a short time, had you been permitted to continue its circulation, and the loss you sustained in consequence of your banishment—the object of these inquiries being the support of your claims against the Mexican Government; with the frankness which has characterized my actions through life, I will proceed to answer you, although with extreme reluctance, from the fact of being myself a claimant on Mexico, and from a knowledge of the fact also that the Mexican Commissioners have objected to the testimony of claimants, given in the adjudication of disinterested claims before the Board.

I was myself a subscriber to your “*Correo Atlantico*,” during the time it was published in the city of Mexico; the price of subscription for the city was one dollar seventy-five cents per month, (twenty-one dollars per annum); and I can truly say it was *by far the largest and best conducted paper printed at the time in Mexico, or in the Mexican Republic*, and also that *public opinion, with regard to it, was in perfect accordance with my own*; its circulation in the city of Mexico was *general*, but of its circulation through the country I have not the least idea. I possess no positive information in relation to what your profits would have been, had you succeeded in this enterprise; but I know that the high subscription paid for papers in Mexico, and the extent of circulation of well conducted papers, have hitherto been a source of wealth to their proprietors, and *that such would have been the result of yours, had you been permitted to continue, I have not the least doubt.*

“I am, respectfully, your obedient servant,

“WILLIAM S. PARROTT.” (153)

To complete this STATEMENT OF FACTS, I have to make a particular mention of two other documents intimately connected with it, and of which I never had any notice until their late transmission to me by the Mexico-American board sitting in this city.

*Twenty-second of April, 1841.*—On my having withdrawn from the Secretary of the board the documents existing there relating to my case, in order to file them chronologically with others I was in possession of, I found a paper conceived literally as follows:

“Extract of a letter from W. S. Parrott, Consul of the United States of America, under date, Mexico, July 14th, 1835, to the Hon. John Forsyth, Secretary of State.

“SIR: Referring to my letter of the 12th instant, with sundry enclosures, I now hand you under cover, copy of O. de A. Santangelo’s first letter to me (advising of the order he had received to quit the country, in the form of a protest) *which was not entered upon record*, with a certified copy by three persons upon oath fixing the damages caused to him, at not less than *one hundred thousand dollars*; a copy of his letter to me under date of the 6th instant, and my answer, which, *I am told*, displeased him so much that he assured his friends *he would have me removed in less than six months.* I took a lively

*interest in his behalf*, called in person upon General Santa Anna and the acting Secretary of State at the time, to exercise my *influence* with them to obtain an *extension of time*, which was *all that he solicited*. Having *accepted* his passport to leave the country, as will be seen by copies of his letters to General Santa Anna and the Secretary of State, *even before I was apprised of what was going on*, and although *no written order* was given allowing him to remain the *fifteen days*, General Santa Anna assured me that he would not be molested, and he remained until the 10th instant. His wife left here on the 13th, (yesterday)." ( 154 )

A few remarks.

The letter of the 12th of July, with *sundry enclosures*, as spoken of in the above *extract*, is unknown to me. I never meditated any *removal* or *remotion* of Mr. Parrott. I never knew of his having taken a *lively interest in my behalf* in Mexico. I had solicited not merely an *extension of time*, but I requested Mr. Parrott to "cause the Mexican Government to respect the treaty of the 5th April, 1831, and to ascertain through his official intervention both the motives of my expulsion, and the reasons by which that Government intended to justify the violation of the treaty." ( 126 ) I wrote to Santa Anna, and to the then acting Secretary of State *after* (and not *before*) having *personally* informed Mr. Parrott, at his office, *of what was going on* (see my statement p. 99). I *submitted* to the expulsion, because I had not under my command a couple of French regiments to put in good order that country: because I knew that the measure taken by my *true friend* was irrevocable; because Governor Rayon told me positively that the "only means *to obtain a delay* was not to speak of American citizenship, treaties, or other exceptions indicating *resistance* or *resentment*, p. 98.; and because Mr. Parrott himself had declared to me verbally at his office, before my writing to Santa Anna and to the Secretary of State, that he had no intercourse with the State Department except in commercial business; that there was no American *chargé* or minister in Mexico; and that I had nothing better to do than *to submit*, and expose afterwards my grievances to our Government, p. 99; which principles he manifested again in his posterior letter of the 6th July, p. 112. Nor did I ever know from Mr. Parrott or others, that I was indebted for the delay, which I obtained, to *his influence*. I thought, on the contrary, to have obtained it through the exertions of my wife and Mr. Leggett (see the letter of this gentleman, p. 114). The fact is, that the memory of men of business is not always faithful, and that Mr. Parrott, first feeling unable or unwilling to quarrel with the Mexican Government on my account, and then apprehending a resentment on my part, represented the case to Mr. Forsyth in the aspect more convenient to his embarrassing position. . . . . Imperfections of human nature!

*Tenth of August, 1841.*—The other document, until now the

last, touching the merits of the case, and of which I had not the slightest idea before the 10th of August of this year, when an authenticated copy of it was granted to me by the Mexican members of the board, is the order of my second banishment from Mexico, whose literal translation into English is the following:

"The conduct observed, and the opinions manifested by the foreigner O. de A. Santangelo in the writings he published in this capital in the year 1826, obliged the Government to expel him from the Republic. Owing to the interposition of his Excellency the General-President, Don Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, this individual was suffered to return to it; but having occupied himself again in the editing of a *periodical*, in which some productions appear which tend to *ridicule* the nation and *plunge it into anarchy*, the Supreme Government would become responsible of the evils which might result from the permanence of this *individual* among us; and to avoid it, I have been directed by the most excellent President *pro tempore*, to transmit you the corresponding passport, that Santangelo may quit the capital within the *third day*, with direction to Vera Cruz, at which port he shall embark for foreign parts.

"His Excellency hopes that you, in what may concern you, shall take care that this order be *most punctually executed*, in the intelligence that, if *within the indicated term* Santangelo shall not have undertaken his march, you will require from the General commandancy the necessary FORCE to have him ESCORTED to the port, for which I transmit this communication to his Excellency the Secretary of the Department of War.

"God and Liberty.

"JOSE MARIA ORTIZ MONASTERIO.

"To the Governor of the District.

"June, 24th, 1835."

"This copy, from its original, is expedited for the archives of the Board.

LUCA DE PALACIOS Y MAGAROA.

"Washington, May 10th, 1841."

"Compared and collated: Washington, May 10th, 1841.

"ALEXANDER DIMITRY." (155)

Who was the author of this order? Certainly not the acting President, in whose name the acting Secretary of State had signed it. That pitiful passive tool of the military despot there present had neither the power of doing, by himself, any good or bad public act, nor the least interest in gratuitously aiming at me that lawless, ferocious and foolish blow, nor even would he have dared to mention in the order the name of the most excellent General President Santa Anna, without his express consent or injunction. The author of the order was, therefore, Santa Anna himself, cowardly entrenched behind the breeches of Barragan; he alone could do it; he had long premeditated it; and now I summon him alone to account for it before my own tribunal. Here is my decree.

"Whereas the most excellent Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, the President of the Republic of Mexico, the General-in-chief of the Mexican armies, the *benemerito de la patria*, the universally notorious, and the basest of all forgers and swindlers; the traitor to Spain, to Iturbide, to the Mexican federation, to all systems of Government and all political parties of his country; the shameless rebel to all his moral and social duties; the wanton and brutal butcher of Zacatecas, Tampico, Alamo and Copano; the contemptible weeping and trembling female when in the Texian jails; the ungrateful, dastardly and ruthless assassin of his ancient companion and friend, the brave and illustrious patriot General José Antonio Mexia, &c., the hero who, at the head of four thousand five hundred men, trying to run from the sight of a handful of French seamen, had a leg shot off by them; the intrigant who is now bribing the ignorant Mexican soldiery to be placed again at the head of the Mexican nation, &c., &c., &c.—has now issued, under the date of the 24th of June, 1835, *motu proprio*, and without any known or plausible reason, an order of banishment from the Mexican territory against me, an innocent, inoffensive, useful, aged, and honorable citizen of the United States of America:

"Whereas this order of banishment was coercive, and consequently attempting to my *individual liberty*; inflicted by way of punishment, and consequently destructive of my *personal honor*; for 'banishment,' says Vattel, is like expulsion with a mark of *infamy* (B. 1, ch. xix, §. 228); causing a derangement of my business, and expenses, losses, sacrifices, &c.; thus injuring my *property*; and obliging me to go and embark, with my young wife, and a young female servant, at a port where a pestilence was actually raging with the utmost fury, thus exposing three innocent *lives* at once to evident danger:

"Whereas the order embraces at once the accusation, the process, an unappealable sentence and the execution, the whole being the performance of a single man, called *President*, and a sample of despotism unheard of and unknown, even under the most absolute and tyrannical Governments on earth:

"Whereas, in his order of banishment of the 24th of June, 1835, Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna quotes my former banishment of the 1st July, 1826, evidently with a view of aggravating my case through the allegation of a *RELAPSE*, or a *solitus delinquere*, the trivial resource of those who produce unfounded or lame accusations:

"Whereas, in point of *legality*, said order of banishment was given by Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna in open and criminal defiance—

"1st. Of the constitution of the country, in its provisions relating to the liberty of the press, the independence of the judicial power, the restrictions of the Executive power, and the responsibility of the Minister, who signs unconstitutional acts of the Executive.

"2dly. Of the article *xiv* of the treaty of the 5th of April, 1831, between Mexico and the United States.

"3dly. Of the law of nations, whose observance is the only thermometer of civilization, and of the laws of hospitality, respected even by savages:

"Whereas, in point of *justice*, the only writings I ever published in Mexico, in 1826, consisted of a small work on the Congress of Panama ( 156 ), relating to both Americas in general, and the innocence and the propriety of the 'conduct observed,' and of the 'principles manifested in it,' by me, were not only judicially acknowledged by the jury of the press (the only competent judge in the case), by the legislative council of Government, and by the whole Mexican nation, as *interesting her gratitude*, but even by Santa Anna himself, who encouraged and praised its publication, through letters of his own hand, and sold fifty copies of it to his friends (retaining however the money for his trouble), and continued caressing me during many years until, appointed President, he no longer wanted my exertions in his behalf; which banishment of 1826 was afterwards declared *barbarous*, and annulled by President Guerrero, that is, by the Mexican Executive itself, and invalidated by President Pedraza:

"Whereas, under the same aspect of justice, the only periodical edited by me, in 1835, the 'Correo Atlantico' ( 157 ), far from *ridiculing* the nation, or plunging it into *anarchy*, as slanderously asserted by Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna in his order of banishment, defended the cause of public morality, and refuted some private calumnies against the Texians, and the Government of the United States, said to be their instigator, in order to possess itself with that section of the Mexican country; and this I did with the honest view of preventing a rupture between the two Governments, without ever entering into any political discussion, or indulging in any criticisms of the persons or doings of the Mexican authorities:

"Whereas the fact alleged in the order in question, of 'my having been suffered to return to Mexico' after my first banishment, 'owing to the interposition of Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna,' is a solemn and impudent falsehood, he having tried his best to prevent it, as I have already demonstrated *usque ad nauseam* in this statement of facts:

"For these considerations, for the present, I, Orazio de Attellis Santangelo, do publicly declare, loudly pronounce, firmly assert, conscientiously swear, and irrevocably decree:

"1st. That Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna is a LIAR, a COWARD, a SCOUNDREL, an IMPOSTER, a TRAITOR, a DISGRACE TO MANKIND.

"2dly. That should the Mexican nation ever place him again, or suffer him to place himself again, at her head, she ought and must be deemed to be, from the oldest to the youngest, from the richest to the poorest, from the strongest to the weakest of her citizens, nothing but a pitiful gang of stupid, ignorant, demoralized, debased fools.

"3dly. That all Governments in the world, which may be so unprincipled as to engage at any time, in the least intercourse with

Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, as the *chief*, under whatever title, of the Mexican nation, should be looked upon as entirely destitute of honor, and worthy only of the execration of their subjects, and of the contempt of all reasonable beings.

"4thly. That this my sovereign and irrevocable decree shall be translated into French, the universal language of diplomacy, and circulated as far as possible, all over the globe.

"Done and given under my hand and seal, in the city of Washington, District of Columbia, in the United States of America, this twenty-second day of October, the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-one, and the first day of the sixty-eighth year of my age.

"ORAZIO DE ATTELLIS SANTANGELO." (\*)

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## CONCLUSION.

An act of accusation on my part will close this STATEMENT OF FACTS.

I have suffered at the hands of the Mexican Governments of 1826 and 1835, the following wrongs:

Four expensive and useless voyages from the United States to and from the city of Mexico, with my family, servants, &c. The breaking up of three noble, large, renowned and flourishing literary institutes, none of which has ever produced less than six thousand dollars per annum. Two illegal, unjust and fell expulsions, a sort of punishment producing infamy. Defamation by the epithets of vagrant, sluggard, chevalier d'industrie, &c., in a "Gaceta," not merely *official*, but the exclusive organ and the property of the Mexican Government itself, paid for by the nation. The loss of the actual salary of my son, amounting to three thousand dollars per annum. The destruction of the life of this my only son, the only hope and support of my old age, and a youth of the highest expectations in society. The destruction of the largest and best conducted periodical in the Mexican Union, which in a few months would infallibly have produced one hundred thousand dollars per annum. Wanton and cruel exposure of my life and that of my wife, servant, &c., to the deleterious epidemic of Vera Cruz, notwithstanding my begging leave to go and embark at Matamoras, at my own expense. . . . Attempts on my individual liberty, by being placed under military escorts. Plunder of my luggage and money, and destruction of manuscripts, the honorable and profitable fruit of thirty years of the most painful and laborious lucubrations. Forced removal from New-Orleans to the city of Washington, to have my claims adjusted . . . but, in reality, to endure new infamous treatments, and the *legal sanction*, perhaps, of all the wrongs I had heretofore endured by the so called Mexican Government.



Upwards of one year residence in Washington, amidst all sorts of wants, disregards and troubles. Heavy expenses of publications, translations, copies, notorial acts, postages, &c. In one word: *Sixteen years of a precarious, obscure and excruciating existence, distressing efforts to have justice done, and, until now, illusory hopes.*

NOTA.—Should, besides the one hundred and fifty-seven documents quoted in the exposed STATEMENT OF FACTS, others be deemed necessary in corroboration of any important fact or circumstance, or in support of some of the items comprised in the STATEMENT OF DAMAGES to be presented to the judge of the case, I beg to be informed of it, in order to complete, as far as possible, my defensive process.

SANTANGELO.

## PROCEEDINGS.

After twenty-five years of the most execrable, crying and constantly unpunished outrages and injuries inflicted by the Mexican citizens, authorities or Supreme Government itself, on the citizens, Government and nation of the United States, a Convention between the two Governments was at last concluded, on the 11th of April, 1839, and ratified on the 8th of April, 1840.

This Convention, without taking the least notice of the public offences heaped by Mexico on the American honor, had merely in view the adjustment of the private claims of American citizens; and putting the offended and the offender on the same level, created a board of two American and two Mexican Commissioners, with their respective clerks or secretaries, both acquainted with the Spanish and English languages, to decide *conclusively* on all said claims, or refer them to a foreign arbiter in case of their differing in opinion. Whether this difference could be established by a parity, or even a majority of votes, this extremely important point was left also unnoticed.

The four commissioners, whom the Convention obliged to meet in Washington, on the 8th of July, 1840, did not meet until the 17th of August, on account of the retard in the arrival of the Mexicans; and from the moment of their first sitting, the Mexicans and the Americans placed themselves in a very different position towards each other. The former had come here as mere *chargés* under *secret* instructions, to defend right or wrong the interests of their Government, *versus* our own directly, and by no means the claimants, whom they had been ordered not to consider as *parties* before them. The latter, on the contrary, regarded themselves as mere impartial *judges* between the American claimants, or *plaintiffs*, and the Mexican Government, or *defendant*, under the sole and public guidance of the Convention.

The Congress of the United States, however, through an act of

the 12th of June, 1840, entitled "An act to effect a Convention between the United States and the Mexican Republic," had furnished the American Commissioners with some other seasonable instructions. It enjoined on them to decide on the claims conformably with the principles of justice and *equity*, and the law of nations. It empowered them to make, *in conjunction with the Mexicans*, all needful *rules and regulations*, not contravening the *Constitution of the United States*, the provisions of this act, and those of the Convention. It acknowledged a *direct* correspondence between them and the claimants, by providing that "all communications *to and from* their Secretary, shall pass by mail free of postage," &c.

This act, not affecting in the least the Mexicans, who acknowledged here of no masters but their own, was of no avail to prevent a discord which the imperfect letter of the Convention had already excited between the Commissioners of the two countries, who both mistook the true object of their respective missions, from the very moment of their entering upon their duties. The following picture of the fact is from a report made by the American Commissioners, Messrs. W. L. MARCY and JOHN ROWAN, to the President of the United States, John Tyler, dated May 26th, 1841, saying, in substance:

That on the 17th of August, of 1840, the Commissioners of both nations assembled, and presented their respective commissions, and certificates of the oath taken:

That the Mexicans presented a certificate that they had taken their oath before each other, and their Secretary before them:

That the board, on entering upon the business of establishing "a set of rules" to be observed in conducting the cases coming before it, a "serious difference of opinions arose:"

That the Mexicans held that *the two Governments were the litigant parties before the board*, and denied to the claimants all access to it, in person or by their agents, and even the right to present or transmit directly to it any paper, document or written proof:

That the Americans considered these views of their colleagues to be *erroneous*, and they believed that the adoption of them would be very *prejudicial*, if not entirely *destructive*, to the interests of the complainants:

That the discussion lasted until the 7th of October, under their apprehension that the object of the two Governments in instituting the commission would not be effected:

That, during the discussion, the claimants Wm. S. Parrott and John Baldwin, had petitioned the board, asking requisitions on the Mexican Government for documents, pursuant to the article 4th of the Convention; which petition was admitted by the Americans, and rejected by the Mexicans, and "consequently lost:"

That, in consequence of the *pertinacious* opinion of the Mexicans, that the United States and not the claimants were the party prosecuting the claims, and of the *firm conviction* of the Americans of the claimants being the *real parties in interest*, they could not, consist-

ently with their sense of duty, give their sanction to any arrangement or rules which did not permit the claimants to have access to the board, and directly to manage their cases; and "all their propositions were rejected by an equal division of votes."

That five rules only were adopted; the 1st and the 2d concerning the days and the hours of their meetings; the 3d, the seats to be occupied by the members of the board; the 4th allowing every member to ask that *the votes be taken upon any question*; the 5th enjoining the Secretaries to form an alphabetical index of the claims, &c.:

That *no rules* had been made furnishing directions to the claimants as to the manner of preparing their cases, and of bringing them before the board:

That all further efforts to establish more necessary rules being given over, the board took a recess on the 9th of October to meet again when the Secretaries had the papers prepared:

That the board met again on the 21st of December:

That on the succeeding day the agents of Arnold's claim having asked permission to appear and present it to the board, the American Commissioners *voted for*, the Mexican *against*, and *the request was lost*:

That the Mexicans proposed that "whatever written explanations, documents or petitions the claimants or their agents should desire to present, would be received and considered, coming through the Department of State:"

That the Americans *voted in favor* of this resolution, because *it did not deny a more direct mode of access*; and at the same time they did *not doubt* that the claimants were entitled to appear before the board and communicate *directly* with it:

That, as all the efforts of the Americans to procure for the claimants the exercise of their just rights had been *unavailing*, and *TO INSIST UPON THEIR BEING ASSENTED TO BY THEIR COLLEAGUES, WOULD HAVE RENDERED THE CONVENTION ENTIRELY ABORTIVE*, they *CONSENTED* to proceed in the business:

That the resolution above referred to did not pass until nearly *six months* after the time fixed by the Convention for the assembling of the board, and *all direct communication with it was denied to the claimants by the Mexicans*:

That until the 23d of December no indication had been given to the claimants, as to the manner in which the cases were to be presented; and, on that day, it was resolved, on motion of the Mexicans, approved by the Americans, that all papers to be presented to the board through the State Department, should be hereafter sent in both the Spanish and English languages:

That not until the 28th of December, 1840, was the *first case* brought before the board:

That the Americans ascribed this *great delay* in entering upon business to the *conflicting* views between them and the Mexicans,

as to the powers and duties of the board, and particularly to the position maintained by the Mexicans, that "the claimants *were not parties*, and had no right to appear in person or by agents, or to send any communication whatever to the board." ( \* )

This report, addressed by the American Commissioners to the President of the United States, on the 26th of May, 1841, was forwarded by them to the Secretary of State, with a letter, in which they said :

"Being in some doubt as to the direction to give it, we have addressed it to the President, but put it into your possession to be disposed of *as you shall judge proper*." . . . . My language would have been this : "We, the American Commissioners, formally solicit from the Executive proper and speedy measures to prevent the Mexican Government from trampling, through its agents here, on our Convention with it, or to accept our resignation."

The Secretary of State, who like all other ministers, is not a public authority elected by the people, but a constitutional functionary elected by the President only to serve as an organ through which certain affairs are submitted to the consideration of the President, and through which the orders of the President are made known to the public, or to the interested parties, *judged it proper* to keep the report of the American Commissioners in his desk. On the 2d of July, the Senate called on the Executive for information about the progress and the actual condition of the board ; and the Secretary of State sent on the 8th to the President, not a report on the *actual* condition of the board, but the abovementioned report, dated nearly two months before, stating that this was the *only* information in possession of his department on the subject. On the 9th, the President sent it to the Senate. On the 10th, the Senate ordered it to be printed, and referred it to its Committee of Foreign Affairs, composed of Messrs. W. C. RIVES, chairman, W. C. PRESTON, J. BUCHANAN, N. P. TALLMADGE, and RUFUS CHOATE. The report died then a natural death.

Ignorant of all these transactions, I had already experienced myself the effects of the disorder reigning in the board, so eloquently described by Messrs. Marcy and Rowan, who were pleased, however, to submit with a truly edifying tameness to all the caprices of their Mexican colleagues, so highly condemned by them. But they would not cause "the Convention to be *entirely abortive*," . . . . and to prevent the abortion of the Convention, they permitted it to be *entirely violated* by the Mexicans ; and, by joining the latter in their *honest* and *lawful* performances, they became knowingly, avowedly and deliberately the passive instruments of the ruin of those very claimants in whose behalf they had been appointed members of the board, with a salary of three thousand dollars per annum.

On the 16th of January of this year, 1841, I sent to the Secretary of State, Mr. Forsyth, a list of seven documents, which I had from

the Convention a right of demanding from the Mexican Government. These seven documents were:

"1st. A copy of the Mexican regulation about foreigners, issued by the Executive of Mexico, on the 5th of June, 1826.

"2dly. A copy of the order of my banishment from Mexico, on the 1st July, 1826, signed by the Secretary of State, Camacho.

"3dly. Copies of the '*Gaceta del Gobierno*,' of the 1st and 4th of July, 1826, containing outrages, calumnies and scurrilities of the basest nature.

"4thly. A copy of the verdict of the jury of the press, of the 6th of July, 1826, absolving *unanimously* my '*Congress of Panama*,' the only pretext of that banishment.

"5thly. A copy of the verdict of said jury, of the 10th of July, subjecting to prosecution the infamous editors of the '*Gaceta del Gobierno*.'

"6thly. A copy of the decree of the legislative '*council of the Government*,' of the last days of July, declaring my banishment to be *unconstitutional*, and the minister who had signed the order, Camacho, to be *responsible* for it.

"7th. A copy of the order of my banishment of the 24th of June, 1835, signed by the then acting Secretary of State, Monasterio."

Mr. Forsyth sent this list (although not until the 28th of January) to the board. Had this board the right of rejecting a demand expressly granted by a public treaty? Well; it made this demand, in its sitting of the 3d of February, a subject of *discussion*, the result of which was, that the demand for the 1st document (it being merely a Mexican regulation) was unanimously admitted; that for the 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th and 6th was wholly *rejected* by the Mexicans, wholly *admitted* by the American Commissioner Mr. Rowan, and partly admitted and partly rejected by the other American Commissioner Mr. Marcy. As to the demand for the 7th document, it was justly deemed unnecessary, the same being already before the board; namely, the original order of my banishment of 1835.

All rejection was evidently, in this case, not merely a criminal impudent violation of the Convention, but a true and most dastardly assassination. What right, what interest, what reason could a judge, a prince, a nation, a divinity have wantonly to deprive a citizen, a human being whatever, of the right of furnishing himself with such *lawful* vouchers as he thinks necessary for the support of an action which he proposes to introduce before a tribunal? The board was the *sole* vehicle left open to me by the Convention to obtain those vouchers from Mexico. The Convention, by obliging Mexico to furnish them, had implicitly authorized me to demand them. How could, therefore, that board reject my demand, thus most cruelly depriving me of all means, of all hopes to obtain them, forcibly snatching from my hands the necessary proofs of my claims, thus despotically pronouncing the loss of my action before its being commenced?

Such a transaction, which would cover with infamy even the most savage tribes on earth, has been however not only permitted in Washington, but even tacitly approved, and even protected by the stubborn, haughty and *consenting* silence of our rulers to all humble remonstrances! . . . . I feel far more ashamed of such a state of things amongst us, as a citizen of the country, than sorry for the wrongs I have personally experienced from it.

I had sent to the board through the State Department, to be filed amongst my documents, an instrument of protest entered by me, on the 11th of February last, before a notary public of this city, on matters vitally affecting my claims. This protest, although the claims were not yet presented, and consequently the board had not yet the slightest right to interfere in my own business, became also a subject of discussion before it, on the 15th of February, and it was not received and filed in my documents, but after a paragraph of it having been impertinently stricken out, and most inimically and falsely pronounced to be *irrelevant*, *indelicate*, and *offensive* to the sacred Mexican Majesty. In other circumstances, this Majesty would have paid dear for such a villanous, insolent and stupid affront.

I had received on the 10th of May last, a copy of the order of my banishment of 1835, and I had found quoted in it my first banishment of 1826, evidently as a proof of relapse on my part, tending to aggravate my conduct in Mexico, and thus to lessen the injustice of my second banishment. This discovery rendered more and more necessary to me the documents I had requested from Mexico, which ought to disperse all injurious caviling about my first banishment from Mexico, in 1826. I renewed, then, the request, and sent, at the same time, to the board the whole of the *writings* spoken of in the slanderous order of banishment of 1835, namely, my "Congress of Panama" of 1826, and the entire collection of my "Correo Atlantico" of 1835; praying the board to peruse their contents rigorously, point out to me the sins I had committed in them, and thus enable me to refute all imputations before my case being submitted to its action, for afterwards no other defence was allowed to me by its wise rules. What was the result of this prayer? My second request was most despotically rejected like the first, by two Mexican nays against two American ayes; and, as to the publications transmitted, I received a polite *leave* to withdraw them, &c. (\*)

Six months of evangelic forbearance, and of respectful, but vain efforts to bring those petty Mexican *despotillos* to reason, were now elapsed; when, after an accurate examination of the policy adopted and pertinaciously followed by them towards all claimants, personally inimical to me, and generally subversive of all principles of justice, equity, and honor, of our constitutional and common laws, of our Convention with Mexico, of the law of nations, and of universal jurisprudence, I addressed on the 12th of July last, to the

President of the United States, an exposition, with twenty-three accompanying documents, in which, after mentioning the tyrannical treatment of which I was the target, I said :

“ The board in question is the monstrous offspring of a Convention, which is itself the offspring of the most disgraceful transaction ever recorded, either in the annals of diplomacy or human aberrations.”

As to the Convention, I demonstrated that it was the result of certain ambitious views of the late Administration, and, in itself, *anti-national, anti-constitutional, absurd in all its provisions*, and consequently a perfect **NULLITY**.

As to the board, I first gave a general idea of it, by saying: “ This board was said with propriety, on its first formation, to be a headless body, extending one hand towards the north, and the other towards the south, and moving one foot to the east, and the other to the west ; but, on its beginning its operations, it was seen metamorphosed into a body, the half of which was full of vigor, and the other, blind, deaf, paralyzed, as from an apoplectic fit ;” and then I *proved* that the Mexican Commissioners had also openly violated the Convention notwithstanding its intrinsic **NULLITY** ; and I preferred, therefore, against them the following charges, others reserved :

“ 1st. They have betrayed the confidence of the Government of the United States, and of the American citizens having claims on Mexico, by assuming the *judiciary* character of members of the Board of Commissioners under the Convention of the 11th of April, 1839, being in reality but the *attorneys* of the Mexican Government, under its *secret instructions*. All their acts, as members of the board, are consequently, and have hitherto been, void and null ; nor does a board exist as contemplated by the Convention.

“ 2dly. They have not even been lawfully sworn according to the Convention, as members of the board, their oath not having been received by a third competent functionary—as, for instance, the umpire himself would have been—but reciprocally by themselves from each other ; they being both attorneys to one of the parties in judgment, the defendant, or Government of Mexico, cannot have taken, as judges, the oath of *impartiality* required by the article 1st of the Convention, but only an oath as one party, *unknown* to the other party.

“ 3d. In the supposition of their having taken an oath of *impartiality*, as true and lawful members of the board, they would have become evidently guilty of *perjury*, by acting as attorneys to the defendant, in open violation of both their oath and the Convention.

“ 4th. They have given the example of a moral judicial body, following or making *no rules or regulations* in their proceedings, to be at liberty to violate, without any restraint, the principles of justice, on which they were bound by the Convention to ground their official acts.

5th. “ They have refused, without any lawful authorization, or rea-

sonable motive, to hear the plaintiffs or claimants before them, either personally or through attorneys or counsel, and even to receive directly from them any petition, document, or communication whatever.

"6th. They have wantonly rejected requests of the most important and decisive nature, regularly made by the plaintiff, and granted by the Convention.

"7th. They have refused to manifest the motives of such rejections, to avoid all refutation or reconvention, thus trampling on the most sacred principles of justice.

"8th. They have violated the sanctity of a public notorial instrument, by striking out despotically, *curia sedente*, a part of it, without any just reason, concerning the self-defence of a claimant, in a case which was not yet laid before them.

"9th. They have, in one of their *secret* reports to the umpire, attacked the personal character of a respectable American citizen, for want of better reasons to object his claim, thus acting as libellers.

"10th. They have decreed sending back to the decision of the Mexican tribunals some claims which were expressly embraced in the Convention, thus destroying the very fundamental object of this public and solemn stipulation.

"11th. They refuse to acquaint the plaintiff or claimant with all the charges or exceptions produced by the defendant or the Mexican Government, in order to prevent the former from refuting the same in support of his own action.

"12th. They conceal from the claimants the interlocutory sentences of the umpire, to prevent their producing any new voucher or argument in their own behalf.

"13th. They pretend to ground their decisions on the laws of Mexico, against both the letter and the spirit of the Convention.

"14th. They have arbitrarily given to their two votes a *decisive preponderance* over the two votes of their American colleagues, in all questions prejudicial to the claimants," &c., &c., &c. (\*)

This exposition, and the accompanying documents, were forwarded to the Secretary of State, with a note under the same date of July 12th, in which I respectfully requested him to "submit the whole to the President, at his earliest convenience." The whole was also published in a pamphlet form, and printed copies were profusely distributed in this city and elsewhere. No refutation, no criticism, not the least sign of disapprobation has been hitherto heard of. . . . . Is not such a silence, in my case, the best of vouchers for its exactness?

It was not now a question of *individual* recourses in *private* matters. A scandalous *breach of a public treaty* had been presented to the American people and to the world, in the city of Washington. The affair was wholly *national*; and every body knows that all violations of public faith, all infractions of public treaties between nations, are, when unnoticed, a sort of wounds to **NATIONAL**



HONOR, either incurable and leading to an unavoidable loss of national *independence*, or productive of deforming indelible scars on the social body, whose consequences, fatal both to the interests of its members and the happiness of the community, are incalculable. . . . .

My exposition to the President, forwarded to the Secretary of State on the 12th of July, that is, scarcely three days after the President had transmitted to the Senate the report of the American Commissioners, abovementioned, could and ought, in my humble opinion, conveniently be sent to that legislative body, to operate amongst the other documents referred by the Senate, on the 10th of the same month, to its Committee of Foreign Affairs, in regard to the board. But I never knew whether it was, or not, laid before the President. The only thing I know is that, on the 26th of August, or in other words, after forty-four days of meditation, the honorable Secretary of State honored me with a note, dated the 24th, in which the name of the President was not mentioned at all, and an answer was returned which had nothing in common with my exposition. From this positive fact, I ought, as I did, obviously infer that my exposition had neither been presented to the President, nor read by the Secretary of State himself. I respectfully abstain here from all comment on this kind of business. I have, however, to transcribe here a memorial which I felt compelled to address to the President in person, on the subject :

“TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES :

“SIR : Under date of the 12th ultimo, I enclosed to the honorable Secretary of State a representation, with twenty-three documents, praying him to lay it before you. It contained several charges against the Mexican members of the Board of Commissioners under the Convention of the 11th April, 1839, for *breach of said Convention*.

“With a second note of the 12th instant, and a third of the 19th, I entreated the honorable Secretary to make me acquainted with your superior resolutions on the subject, and I have received from him yesterday, the 26th, a note dated the 24th, in *his own name*, without any indication of my representation having ever been submitted to your consideration, as I had humbly petitioned ; and from whose tenor, I am sorry to state, I inferred that, owing perhaps to the multiplicity and importance of the affairs of the day, it had not been well perused by himself. His note is thus conceived : ‘The Executive of the United States *has no right to interfere for the redress of the grievances of the citizens* who may suppose themselves to be aggrieved by the decisions of the Commissioners under the Convention with the Mexican Republic. That body is in effect a *judicial* body, and it *belongs to its members alone* to determine on the rights of claimants under the Convention.’

“I must now, sir, take the liberty to come again before you,

earnestly and submissively soliciting your *official* attention on the subject.

"I never solicited the *interference* of the Executive for the *redress* of any of my complaints against the Commissioners under the Convention with Mexico, nor had I ever pretended to have my rights, as a claimant, *determined upon by the Executive*. Printed copies of my representation were sent to the board, as well as to the Committees of Foreign Affairs of both Houses of Congress, and to the members of your cabinet, of the diplomatic body, of the Supreme Court of justice, &c., and no person, I trust, will adopt the interpretation given it by the honorable Secretary of State. I had the honor of exposing to you my *grievances* to draw from them conclusions of a very different nature from that which that functionary supposes:

"First, by demonstrating that the Convention is anti-national, anti-constitutional, and absurd in all its provisions, I proved its entire *nullity*; but, aware that this *nullity* could not be taken notice of after the Convention having been already executed, both with the express consent of our Government, and the tacit acquiescence of our claimants, I abstained from grounding on it any action on my part.

"And then, by preferring fourteen charges, others reserved, against the Mexican members of the board, I demonstrated that the Convention, null or valid, had been wholly and openly violated, both by them and their Government, under whose instructions they act, not as supposed members of a *judicial body*, but as avowed members of a *plenipotentiary diplomatic legation*.

"My charges, sir, against the Mexican Commissioners, are of such an explicit nature, that either I must be punished as a calumniator, or the Convention with Mexico is to be declared *broken* by the Mexican Commissioners and their Government. In the first case, I demand to be brought before a criminal court to answer the charge. In the second, I respectfully insist, less as a claimant than as a citizen of the United States, jealous of our national honor, on the *ANNIHILATION* of the Convention, and the cessation of the board from acting under it.

"Have, sir, the United States a tribunal to judge of infractions of public treaties by foreign powers? I had abstained from moving this question in my first representation to you, thinking that the supposition alone, of the non-existence of such a tribunal, would prove highly offensive to our enlightened and *well-governed* nation. Is this tribunal to be found within the executive, legislative, or judicial attributes? I had likewise refrained respectfully from discussing this point, leaving the decision to your wisdom, and limiting myself to quoting such provisions of our Constitution as might, in my opinion, indicate the course to be pursued in the case, especially those contained in the art. III. sec. II, §1, and the art. VI, miscell. II, §2.

"As to the board, sir, considered as a *judicial body*, it belongs cer-

tainly to its members to determine on the rights of claimants under the Convention, as the honorable Secretary of State very wisely observes; but it cannot be its own judge on any charge legally preferred against it, as infractor of a public treaty, of the very treaty of which it is the creation.

"This distinction of ideas, which will be found, I hope, not unworthy of your highminded attention, leads me to implore your orders *for the transmission of the aforesaid representation, and accompanying documents, to the competent authority, if yours be not*, in order that:

"1st. The Convention might, as it justly should, be declared violated, broken and annulled by the Mexican Government and the Commissioners acting under its instructions.

"2dly. On the board ceasing from its functions, all claims not yet decided upon by it, be examined and adjusted by an ordinary or special court of justice of the United States.

"3dly. And the amount, both of the awards already made by the board or the umpire, and of those to be made, if any, by an American court, be executively demanded from the Republic of Mexico, without any further delay or negotiations, nor reference whatever to any of the provisions of said infringed Convention.

"Deign, sir, to accept the assurance of the profound respect, with which I have the honor to be, your most obedient servant,

"ORAZIO DE ATTELLIS SANTANGELO.

"WASHINGTON, August 27, 1841." ( \* )

This memorial was handed, in the morning of the same day, 27th of August, 1841, to the son of President John Tyler, in presence of his venerable father. . . . . From that day up to this moment I have not been happy enough to receive an answer to it, nor even the acknowledgment of its receipt. Is this a display of Republican grandeur? . . . . . But, the only object of this publication being to show the true motives, the undeniable uprightness and the exact importance of my claims on Mexico, I must, for the present, go no farther.

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#### APPOINTMENT OF AN ATTORNEY.

Surrounded by mystery, intrigue, oppression, despotism, contrarieties, contradictions, absurdities and follies of every description, and personally disregarded by our own Government, only on account of my sufferings from Mexico being the effect of my defending there the honor and interest of the United States, I feel now in danger of losing my compass, and, in addition to my misfortunes, of becoming perhaps insane.

A board, or *tribunal*, as it is called by our Executive, composed of two Mexican and two American members, is instituted by a *pot-pourri* called Convention, to adjust American claims, or to refer them, in case of non-agreement, to a third party called *arbitrator*. . . . So far, let it pass.

But the Mexicans say: the board is not a *tribunal*; we are not judges; the claimants are not parties, and have therefore no right to appear in person or through agents before us, nor to correspond directly with us, our mission being merely *diplomatic*, and the only litigant parties being the Government of the United States itself, and our own!

The Government of the United States swears that it has nothing to do at all either with the claims, the claimants, or the board, its functions being but those of a *conduit*, receiving papers from the claimants, and transmitting them to that *tribunal*; no matter if an act of Congress has solemnly admitted a *direct* correspondence between the claimants and the board!

The American Commissioners firmly declare that they are true *judges*, and the claimants true *parties*, with full right to support their actions personally or through attorneys before the board, and to correspond directly with it . . . . but, embracing at the same time, *par complaisance*, the principles of the Mexicans, they assent so far to all their pretensions as to acknowledge formally, in all votations, the *nullity of their own yeas* in presence of the *Mexican nays*!

The claimants in despair, apply to the board, and "Go," they are told; "you have nothing in common with us; your Government alone is the complainant here." They apply to their Government; and "Go," is the answer; "the Executive cannot in the least interfere between the board and you." They apply to lawyers for advice . . . . and "Patience," is the advice; *An nescis longas regibus esse manus?*"

Not educated at the school of Saint Francis, I have publicly denounced to the President of the United States both the Mexican Government and its Commissioners, as VIOLATORS of our Convention with it; but the silence of the President evidently insinuates that the duty of *executing* the laws does not devolve on him, or that *public treaties* are not, in his opinion, *laws of the land*. . . . Thus, farewell to the Constitution of the United States!

THE VIOLATION OF A PUBLIC TREATY being now looked upon as a matter of course, a nullity as an obligation, an absurdity as an axiom, a denial of justice as a blessing, a personal hostility as a judicial duty, an abuse of power as an heroism, a disregard as chivalric courtesy, a foreign insolence as a title to our friendship, a spoliation as a boon, the right of citizenship as a crime, a truth as an affront; and our hitherto sublime institutions, our laws, independence, sovereignty, national dignity, &c., being but a Mexican sport; and our lawgivers and lawyers, politicians and justices, speakers and writers, &c., nothing but petrified beings at the sight of the head of a Mexican Medusa;—I must abandon the fate of my claims to Providence, and trust the possible defence of my rights to a benevolent counsel, duly empowered either to prosecute my legal action for the annihilation of the *broken* Convention, or lay MOST RESPECTFULLY my claims before its very violators, under a protest against our own Government, the true, lawful, *responsible* authority for all redress due to the citizen of the country, wronged by a foreign power.

O. de A. Santangelo.

WASHINGTON, D. C., October 22d, 1841.

DOCUMENTS

QUOTED IN THE

STATEMENT OF FACTS,

AND

READY FOR PRESENTATION.

Nos.	Dates.	Description.
1	1824, May 21,	Certificate of oath before the Marine Court of N. Y.
2	" June 29,	Count Survilliers to Leroy, Bayard & Co.
3	{ " Oct. 6, }	Extract from the "Atlantic Magazine."
		Do. "New-York American."
		Do. "New-York Statesman."
4	1825, Mar. 1,	Certificate of Leroy, Bayard & Co.
5	" Dec. 26,	Chev. Rivafinoli to the English Minister Ward.
6	1826, Feb. 14,	Certificate of Colonel Menocal.
7	" Feb. 15,	Do. General Pignatelli Cerchiara.
8	" Feb. 16,	Do. General V. Filisola.
9	" Feb. 18,	Permission to carry arms, pistols.
10	{ " Apl. 8, }	Extracts from "El Iris."
	{ " Apl. 29,	
	{ " May 6, }	
	{ " July 1,	
	{ " July 5, }	
11	" May 6,	Decree of the Congress of Mexico.
12	" June 2,	Extract from "El Mercurio."
13	" June 8,	General Santa Anna to Santangelo.
14	" June 26,	Invitation from J. R. Poinsett.
15	" June 30,	Count A. Cornaro to Santangelo.
16	" June 29,	Extract from the work on the "Congress of Panama."
17	" July 1,	Extract from the "Gazette of the Supreme Govern- ment."
18	" July 4,	Do. do. do. do.
19	" July 4,	Santangelo to the President of Mexico.
20	" July 5,	Extract from the "Sun" of Mexico.
21	" July 4,	Certificate of Chev. V. de Rivafinoli.
22	" July 6,	Verdict of the Jury of the Press.
23	" July 7,	Gov. F. Molinos to Santangelo.
24	" July 7,	Santangelo to the President of Mexico.
25	" July 8,	Extract from "El Iris" of Mexico.

Nos.	Dates.	Description.
26	1826, July 8,	Passport signed by "Camaeho."
27	" July 9,	Gov. Molinos to Santangelo.
28	" July 10,	Verdict of the Jury of the Press.
29	" July 10,	Minister of Guatemala, Mayorga, to Sec. of State, Sosa.
30	" July 11,	Gov. Molinos to Santangelo.
31	" July 11,	Santangelo's receipt for one hundred dollars.
32	" July 11,	Gov. Molinos to Santangelo.
33	" July 11,	Permission to carry arms on the transit.
34	" July 13,	Extract from the "Sun" of Mexico.
35	" July 18,	Do. do. do.
36	" July 19,	Do. do. do.
37	" July 19,	Santangelo to President Victoria.
38	" July 20,	Report of the Committee of Infractions.
39	" July 21,	Santangelo to President Victoria.
40	" July 24,	Governor of Puebla, Calderon, to Lient. J. J. Cabrera.
41	" July 26,	Passport from the Minister of Guatemala, Mayorga.
42	" July 29,	Senator Alpuche to Santangelo.
43	" July 31,	<i>Examen</i> of the faculties of the Government of Mexico, on the banishment of foreigners, by Senator Cañedo.
44	" Aug. 1,	Extract from "El Oriente," of Jalapa.
45	" Aug. 5,	Certificate of Herrera.
46	" Aug. 16,	Commodore D. Porter to Mrs. Porter.
47	" Aug. 18,	Permission to embark at Vera Cruz.
48	" Aug. 19,	Santangelo's farewell to the Mexicans.
49	" Aug. 28,	Certificate of the death of Francis de A. Santangelo.
50	" Nov. 11,	Extract from the "National Gazette," of Philadelphia.
51	" Dec. 3,	Do. a work by John Jordan.
52	" Dec. 9,	Do. the "Mercurio," of Vera Cruz.
53	" Dec. 20,	Senator Zavala to Santangelo.
54	1827, Feb. 25,	Santangelo to Zavala.
55	" April 4,	Extract from the "Democratic Press," of Philadelphia.
56	" April 20,	Senator Zavala to Santangelo.
57	" May 20,	Santangelo to Zavala.
58	" May 26,	Do. do.
59	" July 25,	Zavala to Santangelo.
60	" Aug. 19,	Santangelo to General V. Guerrero.
61	" Sept. 28,	General Guerrero to Santangelo.
62	1828, July 25,	Santangelo to the President General, G. Victoria.
63	" July 28,	J. M. Montoya to Santangelo.
64	" Aug. 1,	Santangelo to Gomez Pedraza.
65	" Aug. 15,	Do. the Minister of War, Pedraza.
66	" Aug. 15,	Consul of the U. S. in Naples, Alexander Hammet, to Santangelo.
67	" Aug. 20,	Rogers, Brother & Co., of Naples, to Santangelo.
68	" Sept. 18,	Minister of War to Santangelo.
69	" Sept. 23,	Do. do. do.
70	" Oct. 15,	Santangelo to J. J. Esteva.
71	" Nov. 29,	J. J. Esteva to Santangelo.
72	1829, April 20,	Lorenzo de Zavala to Santangelo.
73	" May 28,	Certificate of naturalization from Marine Court of N.Y.
74	" July 12,	Domingo J. Hernandez to Santangelo.
75	" Oct. 3,	J. J. Esteva to Santangelo.
76	" Oct. 21,	General Santa Anna to Santangelo.
77	" Dec. 15,	Luigi Griggi to Santangelo.
78	1830, Jan. 1,	Santangelo to President Guerrero.

Nos.	Dates.	Description.
79	1830, Feb. 3,	Secretary of State, Alaman to Santangelo.
80	" Mar. 10,	Santangelo to Lucas Alaman.
81	" Mar. 14,	T. Cañas to Santangelo.
82	" April 5,	Gen. J. J. Basadre to Santangelo.
83	" June 9,	Extract from the "Daily Advertiser," of New-York.
84	" Sept. 16,	Invitation from Senator Zavala and Colonel Mexia.
85	1831,	Extract from L. de Zavala's work on Mexico.
86	" April 9,	Gen. Santa Anna to Santangelo.
87	" May 14,	Gen. Basadre to Santangelo.
88	" July 20,	Gen. Mexia to Santangelo.
89	" Oct. 11,	Gen. Santa Anna to Santangelo.
90	1832, Feb. 22,	Decree of the Congress of Mexico in defiance of the treaty of the 5th of April, 1831.
91	" Mar. 23,	Gen. Santa Anna to Santangelo.
92	" Oct. 4,	Gov. Zavala to Santangelo.
93	" Oct. 25,	Manuel G. Pedraza to Santangelo.
94	1833, Mar. 25,	President Santa Anna to Santangelo.
95	" Mar. 29,	Extract from "El Censor," of Vera Cruz.
96	" April 13,	President Santa Anna to Santangelo.
97	" April 16,	Gov. Zavala to Santangelo.
98	" April 26,	Political chief De Muñoz y Muñoz to Santangelo.
99	" May 6,	Bill of Lading, signed "Joaquin Acosta."
100	" May 18,	Doctor Doucet to Santangelo.
101	" May 22,	Thomas Savage to Santangelo.
102	" June 13,	José Ma. Perez to General Mexia.
103	" June	Prospectus of the "Lyceum Azteque."
104	" July 15,	Secretary of State, Garcia, to Santangelo.
105	" July 17,	Santangelo to the Minister of Finances, Bocanegra.
106	" Aug. 20,	Commissary General of Mexico to Santangelo.
107	" Sept. 7,	License to open a course of political economy.
108	" Oct. 2,	License for Mrs. Santangelo to open a school for ladies.
109	1834, May 25,	Extract from a Supplement to the "Telegraph."
110	1835, Jan. 5,	Juan José del Corral to Santangelo.
111	" April 22,	Extract from "El Censor," of Vera Cruz.
112	" May 7,	The Editors of the "Oliva" to Santangelo.
113	" May 21,	The Editors of the "Mercurio" to Santangelo.
114	" May 31,	Mr. Antonio Valdes y Moya to Santangelo.
115	{ " June 13,	Extract from the "Correo Atlantico."
116	{ " June 17,	Do. do.
117	{ " June 13,	Do. do.
118	{ " June 24,	Do. do.
119	" June 24,	Gov. Ramon Rayon to Santangelo, sent on the 25th.
		Passport by the acting Secretary of State, Monasterio, given on the 25th.
120	{ " June 25,	Santangelo to President Santa Anna.
121	{ " June 25,	Santangelo to the Minister of Foreign Relations.
122	{ " June 26,	Santangelo to Wm. S. Parrott, Consul of the U. S.
123	" July 3,	Instrument of Protest before the U. S. Consul.
124	" July 3,	Sworn estimate of damages, by C. Abadie, A. Leggett and Y. Reed, with a detailed certificate of Mr. Leggett.
125	" July 3,	Aaron Leggett to Santangelo.
126	{ " July 3,	Passport from Wm. S. Parrott, U. S. Consul.
127	{ " July 6,	Santangelo to Parrott.
	{ " July 6,	Parrott to Santangelo.
	" July 7,	Col. S. F. Austin to H. Meigs, & Co.

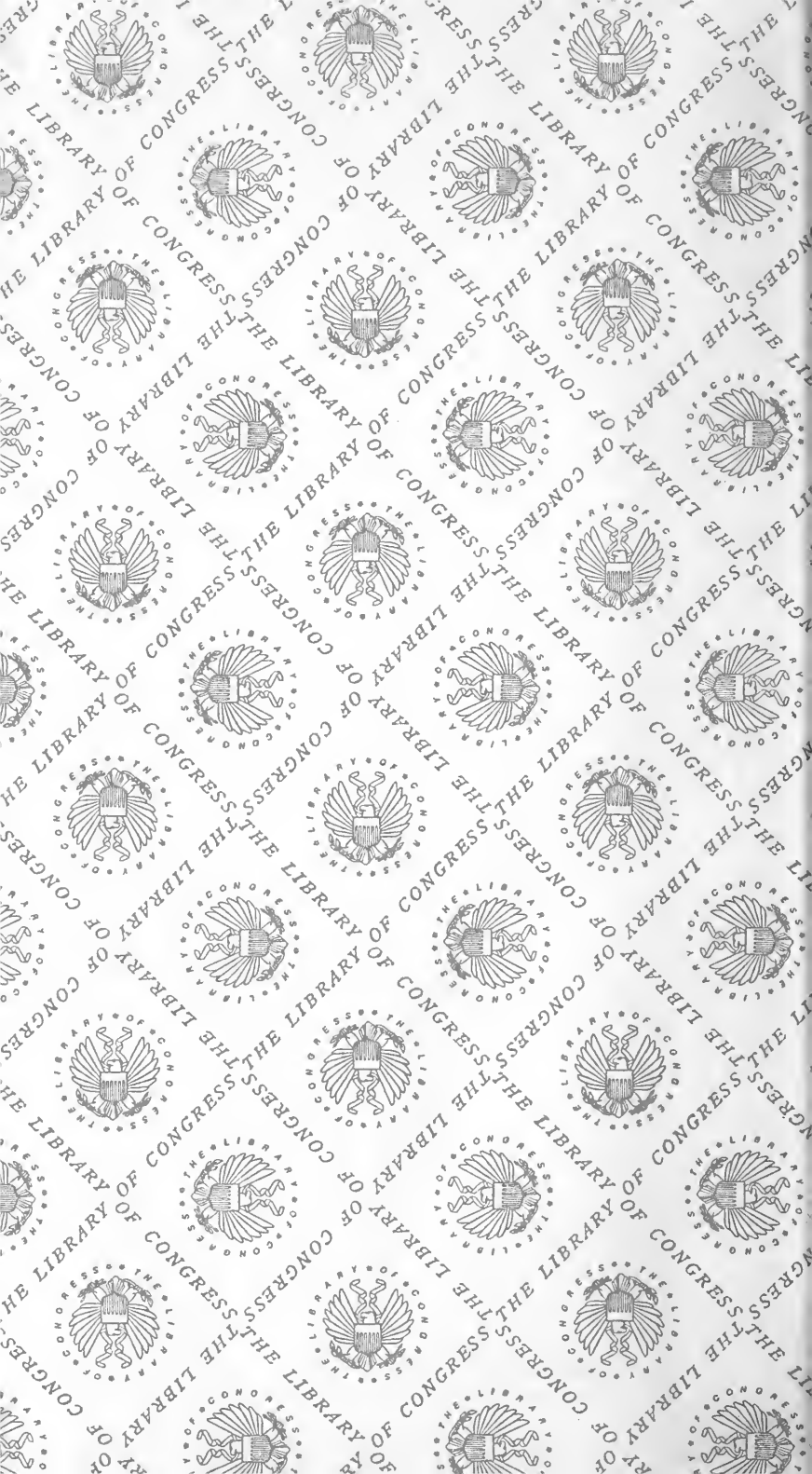












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